

HARVARD STUDIES  
IN  
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL  
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY*

VOLUME XVII

1906



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## PREFATORY NOTE

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The articles in the present volume are contributed by instructors in the Department of the Classics as a token of affection and esteem for CLEMENT LAWRENCE SMITH, of the class of 1863, for thirty-four years a valued member of the Department, but forced by ill health to resign the Pope Professorship of Latin in this University in 1904.

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# NOTES ON VITRUVIUS

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BY MORRIS H. MORGAN

## (1) *On the Text*

2, *praef.* 2 (31, 24): *cogitationes et formas dignas tuae claritati.*

Here the mss. have the dative with *dignus*. Wesseling (*Obs. Var.* p. 68) emended to the genitive *claritatis*, and Rose in both his editions has followed, in spite of Wölfflin's protest.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the genitive with *dignus* is not unknown: cf. Balbus ap. Cic. *Att.* 8, 15 A, 1; Verg. *A.* 12, 649 (with *indignus*); Tac. *A.* 15, 14; to say nothing of the disputed passage in Plaut. *Trin.* 1153 (Nonius for the genitive, but the mss. of Plautus for the ablative). Still the dative also is found as follows: Plaut. *Poen.* 256: *diem . . . dignum Veneri* (emended to the ablative by Ritschl and so Leo); Sall. *Or. Phil.* 20: *decernite digna nomini* (where Maurenbrecher, I, 77, 20, emends to the ablative); *Cod. Theod.* 9, 28, 1: *quoniam nec condigna crimini ultio est*; *C G L.* II, 305, 12: *ἐπαίνου ἄξιος laudi dignus*. See also Schmalz, *Lat. Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> p. 249, who cites from late Latin examples of this dative in Commodian, Vopiscus, and Arnobius, as well as passages in Apuleius, Jerome, and Cyprian, where the form leaves the question of genitive or dative doubtful. To these last may be added the Pompeian *dignus rei publicae* (*CIL.* IV, 566; 702; 768), and note also the usage of Priscillian (*Archiv* III, p. 317). As a good warrant for the dative with *dignus*, Wölfflin suggests the use of *decet* with the dative in early Latin; cf. Sommer, p. 241, '*dig-nus* aus *\*dec-nos* zu *decet*.' We may now examine the constructions which actually do accompany *dignus* in Vitruvius apart from this passage.

The word is used certainly once as a mere attributive adjective: 83, 15, *dignam et utilissimam rem*; and probably this should be the explanation of 158, 6, *merenti digna constitit plena*, for the dative *merenti* here belongs to the whole following phrase and not to *digna* alone. Then

<sup>1</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* XXXVII, p. 115.



we have the impersonal *dignum est* once with an *ut* clause in 46, 6: *dignum esset ut . . . perficerentur*, a construction found with *dignus* used personally in Plautus, Livy, and Quintilian (Schmalz, p. 406). Once the neuter *dignum* is found personally with the passive infinitive, in 212, 14: *id enim magis erat institui dignum*. We have the neuter *dignum* used impersonally with the passive infinitive in Livy, 8, 26, 6: *quibus dignius credi est*; cf. Cic. *Quinct.* 95: *indignum est a pari vinci*. But in Vitruvius the verb *erat* has a neuter subject expressed, so that the usage resembles *dignus* or *digna* (fem.) with the passive infinitive, noted as not found in prose before the Silver Age by Schmalz (p. 281 f.) and Dräger (II, 331 f.). It may be remarked in passing that *dignum est* with a passive infinitive is (understanding the infinitive as originally a dative) a support for the dative case with *dignus*, and here again the connection of *dignus* with *debet* is suggested by Plaut. *Poen.* 258: *nunc me debet donari cado vini veteris?*<sup>1</sup> Again, Vitruvius has the impersonal *dignum est* with the active infinitive, 237, 7: *sed uti fuerint ea exquisita, dignum est studiosis agnoscere*; cf. Plaut. *Ps.* 1013: *salutem scriptam dignumst dignis mittere*; Verg. *A.* 6, 173: *si credere dignum*. I have no examples of this use in prose before Gellius (see Dräger, II, 332) for *dignum*, but for *indignum*, cf. Sall. *Iug.* 79, 1: *non indignum videtur egregium facinus commemorare*. Whether in Vitruvius *studiosis* is dative or ablative, I see no way of deciding. Finally, Vitruvius has a personal use, in the masculine gender, of *digniores* with the active infinitive, 134, 1: *ipsos potius digniores esse ad suam voluntatem quam ad alienam pecuniae consumere summam*. I can cite no prose parallel for this before Plin. *Pan.* 7: *dignus alter eligi, alter eligere*; cf. Apul. *M.* 1, 8: *tu dignus es extrema sustinere*; but in poetry the usage seems to appear first in Catullus 68, 131: *concedere digna*; and that it was familiar to Horace appears from *Ep.* 1, 10, 48: *tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem*, and (with *indignus*) from *Ep.* 1, 3, 35: *indigni fraternum rumpere foedus* (i. e. *quos non debet*); cf. also *A. P.* 231. The commentators speak of this construction as modelled on the Greek idiom with *ἀξιος* and *δίκαιος*. It is not strange that Vitruvius, who

<sup>1</sup> I owe this to Professor Minton Warren, who also points out that it is even conceivable that the dative was the original case used with *dignus*, and that the ablative came in and prevailed through a misunderstanding of the doubtful forms in inflection.

drew so much from Greek authors, should have been influenced, just as poets were, by Greek syntax.

This examination of the usages with *dignus* in Vitruvius shows such a considerable variety that it becomes obviously unsafe to emend away the dative *claritati* in 31, 24.

2, 8, 16 (52, 7): *quibus et vectigalibus et praeda saepius licitum fuerat . . . habere.*

Here the MSS. have *saepius*, while Rose<sup>2</sup> follows Nohl (*Anal. Vitr.* p. 19 f.) with the emendation *saeptis*. Nohl says merely: 'quid sibi velit *saepius* nescio.' But it seems to be nothing except the not uncommon use of the comparative degree of an adverb instead of the positive; see Köhler, *Acta Erlang.* I, 410, Wölfflin, *Comparison*, p. 63, and Praun, *Syntax des Vitruv.* p. 80. In Vitruvius himself the comparative form *saepius* occurs six times (see Nohl's *Index*), and in none of them does it have a distinctively comparative sense. As for the emendation *saeptis*, that verb is used but twice in Vitruvius (203, 3; 211, 6), both times literally. And its metaphorical use in other authors seems to convey nothing like the sense which the emendation would require here.

2, 9, 1 (54, 23): *inanibus et patentibus venis in se recipiet lambendo sucum et ita solidescit et redit in pristinam naturae firmitatem.*

Here Rose<sup>2</sup> changes to the plurals *recipient*, *solidescunt*, and *redeunt*, as referring to *corpora muliebria* in 54, 16. But in line 18 we have *corpore*, to which *id ex quo* in line 21 refers. It seems needless, therefore, to go back to *corpora muliebria*, and I should keep *recipiet* with G (*recipient*, H S), and *solidescit* and *redit* with all three manuscripts.

5, *praef.* 4 (104, 7): *uti sunt etiam tesserae quas in alveo ludentes iaciunt.*

So H G and Rose in his first edition. S has *in alea*. Rose in his second edition changes to *in alveolo*, based upon Varro ap. Gell. 1, 20: *quales sunt tesserae quibus in alveolo luditur* (here, however, one good MS. has *albeo*, the others *albeolo*). Rose's change seems unnecessary. It is true that *alveolus* is found in the sense of 'diceboard' in Paul. Fest., Lucilius, Cicero, and Juvenal (for the passages, see the *Thesaurus*); but *alveus* occurs in the same sense in Plin. *N. H.* 37, 13; Val.

Max. 8, 8, 2; Suet. *Claud.* 33; and Varro himself uses the word in the sense of the game of dice in *frag. ap. Non.* 108, 26. Although the passage and context in Vitruvius, about the cube, may well be based upon Varro (see Thiel, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* CLV, p. 366), yet a comparison of both in their entirety will show that there is no reason for thinking that he followed the words of Varro with slavish exactness.

5, 11, 3 (128, 4): *altera simplex ita facta uti in partibus quae fuerint circa parietes et quae erit ad columnas, margines habeat uti semitas.*

Here, for *erit*, the inferior manuscripts and the editio princeps give *erunt*, which has been adopted by Rose and the other editors. The best manuscripts have *erit*, which seems to me to be right. Vitruvius provides that the sunken running track under this colonnade should have *margines*, serving as *semitae*, 'on the sides which are' along the surrounding walls (there would of course be three of these, one at each end and one forming the inner boundary), and 'on the side which is' along the columns. Of course there would be only one such side, hence the singular number.

5, 12, 6 (130, 16): *locus qui ea saeptione finitus fuerit exinaniatur sicceturque, et ibi inter saeptiones fundamenta fodiantur. Si terrena erunt, usque ad solidum crassiora quam qui murus supra futurus erit exinaniantur siccanturque, et tunc structura ex caementis calce et harena compleantur. Sin autem mollis locus erit, palis ustilatis alneis aut oleaginis configantur et carbonibus compleantur.*

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Here the manuscripts exhibit several errors in giving the singular of verbs instead of the plural. In lines 19-20 they have *exinaniatur sicceturque*, due to the occurrence of that phrase in the singular in line 17, and perhaps further influenced by *futurus erit*, but obviously wrong, as *crassiora* shows, and corrected by Marini. In line 21, codd. H S G<sup>c</sup> have *compleatur*, due to the impression that *structura* is a nominative, but correctly transmitted as a plural by G. So far, then, the manuscripts erred and have been rightly abandoned. But in the last line the two verbs *configantur* and *compleantur* are plural in all the manuscripts, while the editors have followed the editio princeps with its readings *configatur* and *compleatur*, doubtless due to the singular number of



*locus*. The plurals, however, are correct and refer back to *fundamenta* (line 18), with which agree *erunt* (18), *exinaniantur siccenturque* (19–20), and *compleantur* (21); cf. *fundamenta impleantur*, 76, 3; *infra fundamenta aedificiorum palationibus crebre fixa*, 57, 12. Editors should therefore restore these plurals, which are indeed the *lectio difficilior*. It can scarcely be thought that they got into the archetype from assimilation to *compleantur* in line 21, for the singular *locus erit* intervenes.

7, *praef.* 12 (159, 6): *Philo* (sc. *edidit volumen*) *de aedium sacrarum symmetriis et de armamentario quod fuerat Piraei portu*.

The word *fuerat* is the reading of the manuscripts. A correction to *fecerat* was suggested by Hemsterhuis (*ad Poll.* 10, 188: 'credo legendum *fecerat*'), and this correction is adopted by Schneider and succeeding editors. It is unnecessary. To be sure, Vitruvius has been using, and uses in the next clause, the present tense *est* of the buildings described by the authors whom he is cataloguing; but these other buildings were still in existence in his day. The *armamentarium* of Philo, however, had been burnt by Sulla; see Appian, *B. M.* 41; Plut. *Sull.* 14. It is therefore to the disappearance of the building that Vitruvius wishes to refer, not to the fact that it was built by Philo. For a similar use of *fuerat*, cf. 28, 22: *reposito autem gnomone ubi antea fuerat*, and 216, 9; 221, 23. In general, for Vitruvius's employment of *fuerat* instead of *erat* or *fuit*, see Eberhard, *de Vitruvii genere dicendi*, II, p. 10.

7, 10, 2 (180, 6): *namque aedificatur locus uti laconicum*.

Here Rose<sup>2</sup> reads *lacus* for *locus*, following a suggestion of Nohl in his *Index*, who based the change upon Faventinus 307, 16: *lacusculus curva camera struatur*. But an inspection of the context of Faventinus shows that his *lacusculus* (repeated twice below) is for Vitruvius's *laconicum*, not for his *locus*. And furthermore the emendation is unfortunate because it introduces into Vitruvius a meaning for the word *lacus* not elsewhere found in him. He does not use it of anything that is roofed over. Generally he has it in the sense of 'lake'; once it means an artificial pool or basin for water (207, 9), and once 'mortar bed' (165, 24).

8, 3, 14 (198, 9): *sunt enim Boeotia flumina Cephisos et Melas, Lucanis Crathis, Troia Xanthus.*

Here editions have always had *Lucania* or *Lucaniae*, although the manuscripts give only *Lucanis*. The latter is the correct form for the name of this district in the early and Augustan period, as has been shown for other authors by Wölfflin, *Archiv*, XII, 332. It should be restored in Vitruvius.

9, *praef.* 16 (217, 23): *Itaque qui litterarum iucunditatibus instinctas habent mentes.*

Here Rose in both editions reads *intinctas* with late manuscripts, while the best manuscripts give *instinctas*. The reading of Rose seems very improbable. It is true that nowhere else in Vitruvius do we find a form from *instinguo*, and that we do find forms from *intinguo* (or *intingo*) five times without any variants (see Nohl's *Index*). But in none of these five is the verb used metaphorically; it is always employed literally, in connection with water, in Vitruvius, and I am not aware of a metaphorical use of it in any other author. On the other hand, if we read *instinctas* here, we find it in its usual sense, of which any lexicon will afford examples.

9, 3, 1 (227, 1): *deinde e geminis cum iniit ad cancrum, qui brevissimum tenet caeli spatium.*

Here Barbari, followed by Marini, emended *brevissimum* to *longissimum*, and Reber changed *qui* to *quo*, thus making *sol* and not *cancer* the subject of *tenet*, and giving the reading *quo longissimum tenet caeli spatium* as adopted in both of Rose's editions. These scholars were all influenced by the passage below in § 3, where of the course of the sun in Capricorn it is said: *brevissimum caeli percurrit spatium*. It does not seem necessary, however, to make the two passages correspond by insisting on *sol* as the subject of both. If we keep *qui* in the first, referring to Cancer, and retain also *brevissimum*, we find that Vitruvius is speaking not, as in § 3, of the length of the day, but of the size of Cancer, which in fact occupies the shortest parallel within the Zodiac (that is, in modern terminology, the section from it to the pole is shortest) — 'the shortest space in heaven,' as Vitruvius says. On the small size of this sign, cf. Hipparchus, p. 126, 12 Manitius: *καθάπερ*

εὐθέως ὁ μὲν Κάρκινος οὐδὲ τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐπέχει τοῦ δωδεκατημορίου. And observe also what Eudoxus (*Ars Astron.* ed. Blass, p. 18, col. ix) in speaking of the courses of the planets, moon, and sun, says about Cancer: οὐ γὰρ τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαστάσει περιφέρονται περὶ τὸν μένοντα πόλον, ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν ὥσι ἐν τῷ Καρκίνῳ, ἐν τῇ ἐλαχίστῃ διαστάσει εἰσίν.

## (2) On the Subject Matter

2, *praef.* 1 (31, 10): *is e patria a propinquis et amicis tulit ad primos ordines et purpuratos litteras ut aditus haberet faciliores.*

It does not seem to have been observed by the commentators or translators that *primos ordines* here is a military term (cf. for instance *Caes. B. G.* 6, 7, 8; *Liv.* 30, 4, 1), and that consequently such general expressions as 'men of the first rank' (Gwilt), 'Männer des ersten Ranges' (Reber) will not fit it. It means 'the principal military men.'

5, 6, 2 (117, 16): *supra autem alternis itineribus superiores cunei medii dirigantur.*

These words do not signify that above the *praecinctio* in a Roman theatre there were twice as many stairways as there were below it. If Vitruvius meant that, he would not repeat the idea in 5, 7, 2 (120, 23), where in his description of the Greek theatre he certainly prescribes such a doubling. He would say nothing there; for in that chapter he is treating only the *differences* between the Greek and the Roman theatre. In the Roman theatre, therefore, he means that above the *praecinctio* the stairs do not continue on the same lines as the stairs below it, but that they are laid out on lines alternating with the lines of the lower ones. He employs here no such words as *iterum* and *amplificantur*, found in the Greek chapter. Hence it seems that in Dörpfeld and Reisch, *Das griechische Theater*, p. 162, cf. 164, the plan of the Roman theatre is erroneous in this respect.

8, 1, 1 (185, 18): *uti procumbatur in dentes antequam sol exortus fuerit.*

In this passage where Vitruvius is describing a method of searching for water, he uses the expression *in dentes* in the sense of *pronus*, the word which is in fact employed by Pliny (*N. H.* 31, 44) and Palladius (9, 8) in their descriptions of the same method. Palladius, however,

has *iacens*, not *procumbens*, while the construction of Pliny's sentence requires no verb with *pronus*. On the other hand, Faventinus, in his Epitome of Vitruvius (289, 20), has: *aequaliter in terra procumbatur*. Now the Vitruvian use of *in dentes* is found, so far as I am aware, in no other Latin author, and consequently some editors have looked upon it with suspicion; see the notes of Schneider and of Marini. But my friend, Professor E. S. Sheldon, has drawn my attention to a gloss on *Genesis* 17, 13 (*cecidit Abraham pronus in faciem*), found in the Reichenau collection, edited by Foerster and Koschwitz, *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch*<sup>2</sup> (1902), p. 3, 43. The gloss reads thus: 'pronus: qui a dent'. iacet.' This *a dent*' seems obviously intended for the old French *adenz*, used in the sense of *sur les dents*, *sur la face*, *à plat ventre* (cf. Godefroy, *Dict. de l'Ancienne Langue Française*, s.v.). Thus we find the verse (*Rol.* 2358 Müller): 'sur l'herbe vert, s'i est culchiez adenz.' It therefore seems probable that in Vitruvius alone is preserved indication of a colloquial usage of classical times which led to the employment of *adenz* in old French. The late Latin verb *indento*, leading to French *endenter* (cf. *adenter*), has quite a different meaning.

9, 1, 15 (224, 4): *similiter astra nitentia contra mundi cursum suis itineribus perficiunt circumitum*.

Here Nohl in his *Index* takes *nitentia* from *niteo*, and Reber and other translators render the word as if it meant 'shining,' 'glittering.' But Terquem in his very useful study of Vitruvius (*Mémoires de la Société des Sciences de Lille*, 4<sup>e</sup> Série, XIV, p. 117) rightly renders thus: 'de même les astres luttant contre le mouvement du monde, font leur circuit dans leurs orbites.' In fact, Vitruvius uses the verb *nitor* here to suggest that there is a struggle on the part of the planets against the revolution of the heavens, like the struggle of the ants on the wheel in the experiment which he has just described. He uses *nitor* of the movement of the signs of the Zodiac in 219, 24, and of the flight of birds up into the air in 18, 8. He has only once employed a form of *niteo*. This is the homonym *nitentia*, used of the brilliant polish of stucco (169, 5). Of the brilliancy of the heavenly bodies, the verb *luceo* is used, and four or five times (see Nohl's *Index*).



(3) *On the Date of Vitruvius*

This is of course a much debated question into which, in its entirety, I do not propose to enter here. But I think it worth while to mention the following points which seem to have escaped the attention of those who have written upon it, and which appear to me to be arguments useful to those who, like myself, believe that the work was composed certainly in the time of Augustus, if not very early in his reign.

10, *praef.* 4 (243, 18) : *quotannis et praetores et aediles ludorum causa machinationes praeparare debent.* Was not this statement written in the time when aediles as well as praetors had annually the *cura ludorum*? But in 22 B.C. Augustus, while otherwise restricting the functions of the aediles, gave the superintendence of the games to the praetors solely (Dio Cass. 54, 2; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*<sup>3</sup>, II, 237, 517, 522), who had hitherto been in charge only of the Ludi Apollinares and Ludi Piscatorii.

2, 9, 16 (60, 12) : *cuius materies si esset facultas adportationibus ad urbem, maximae haberentur in aedificiis utilitates*, etc. Vitruvius has been speaking at some length of larch wood, and having stated (§ 14) that it is known only to the people on the banks of the Po and the shores of the Adriatic, and having described its characteristics and related a curious anecdote about it in connection with one of the campaigns of Caesar, says in our section that it is transported by way of the Po to Ravenna and that it is to be had in Fano, Pésaro, Ancona, and the other towns in that vicinity. Then follows the sentence which I have quoted. The idea that there should be difficulty in the transportation of larch wood from the north of Italy to Rome points distinctly to the days of small things. A vast change from such an idea had come about by the time of Pliny, when, as he says (*N. H.* 2, 118), ‘all seas had been laid open for the sake of gain,’—and he might have added ‘for the sake of luxury’ (see Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*<sup>6</sup>, III, pp. 87–99). And it so happens that as early as the time of Tiberius larch trees for building purposes had been brought to Rome from even farther away than the north of Italy, namely, from Rhaetia (Plin. *N. H.* 16, 190). One of these was 120 Roman feet in length (*ibid.* 200). With this remark of Vitruvius about larch may be compared what he

says (46, 5 ff.) about the necessity of using inferior building stone because it was found near Rome, although so much better a quality was found in the neighborhood of Lake Bolsena in Etruria (45, 15). Yet the ransacking of the whole known world for all sorts of stone was in Pliny's time 'the principal craze of the age' (*N. H.* 36, 1).

5, 10 (124, 30 ff.): In Vitruvius's description of public baths we recognize again the day of small things. The arrangements which he describes are those which are found in the Stabian and the Forum Baths of Pompei, the former of which belongs to the time of the pre-Roman period there, the latter to the time of Sulla. Every student of Pompei knows how great is the difference between these two old-fashioned establishments and more elaborate Central Baths, which were still building at the time of the destruction of the city in 79 A.D. It seems impossible that Vitruvius could have written his account after the opening in Rome of the great *Thermae* of Agrippa, the first luxurious public bathing establishment to be built in Rome. This was probably opened in 19 B.C. (see Huelsen in Pauly-Wissowa, I, p. 899). Vitruvius never uses the word *thermae*. Furthermore, in 8, 6, 2 (207, 9) we find a casual remark which seems to show that he regarded baths as private enterprises. This is where he prescribes that from the reservoir (*castellum*) at the city walls three sets of pipes should run, one supplying the *lacus et salientes* (free-flowing public basins and fountains), one for private house supply, and a third running in *balineas ut vectigal quotannis populo praestent*. Of course no revenue was expected from the great baths of the empire.

7, 3-14: In the whole treatment in these chapters of the decoration of walls in the Roman house, the use of marble linings (*crustae*) is ignored. In the sixth chapter, marble is recognized only as a material which was powdered in order to form the *caementum marmoreum* which produced the highly polished stucco covering of walls. On the other hand, Pliny begins his account of wall painting by saying that it is almost an obsolete art, *nunc in totum a marmoribus pulsa* (35, 2), and in another place he notes that marble linings were first used in Rome in the house of Mamurra (36, 48). This man was Catullus's prodigal, and his date is therefore just before Augustus. That this emperor

found marble in no general use for building purposes is shown by his well-known remark: *marmoream se relinquere quam latericiam accepisset* (Suet. *Oct.* 28). And Friedländer (*Sittengeschichte*<sup>6</sup>, III, 91 f.) rightly observes that the Vitruvian dwelling house of the best class is that which we find portrayed in the poetry of Horace, Propertius, and Tibullus.

10, 2, 13 (251, 3): *Nostra vero memoria cum colossici Apollinis in fano basis esset a vetustate diffracta, metuentes ne caderet ea statua et frangeretur, locaverunt ex eisdem lapidicinis basim excidendam. Conduxit quidam Paeonius.* It is truly tantalizing that this passage with its *nostra memoria*, a phrase apparently so promising, gives us really nothing definite about the date at which it was written. Mortet, who believes that Vitruvius wrote in the time of Titus, seems to think (*Revue Archéologique*, 1902, p. 59) that he is referring to something which was done under Vespasian, and compares Suet. *Vesp.* 18: *Colossi refectorem insigni congiario magnaque mercede donavit.* But the word *Colossi* here probably refers to Nero's *Colossus* (Huelsen in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v., p. 589; cf. Dio Cass. 66, 15), and even if it does not, Suetonius was talking of something in Rome, whereas the word *fano* in Vitruvius seems to show that he meant a temple outside of Rome. The strict manner in which Vitruvius employs this word has not been observed by the commentators. He has *fanum* seventeen times, but never (unless here) of any definite temple in Rome or Italy. He uses it of Juno at Argos (84, 22), Mars, Venus, and Mercury at Halicarnassus (50, 3; 6; 26), Pater Liber in Athens (122, 3), Diana at Ephesus (249, 28; 251, 1 and 22), Minerva at Priene (159, 3); also of a temple in Syracuse which he does not name (215, 12), and of temples in Ionia (85, 15). This accounts for eleven occurrences. Then he has *extra murum Veneris, Volcani, Martis fana conlocari*, etc., in the passage where he is quoting from the Etruscan sacred books on the position of temples (30, 15). The other four passages are still more general: in them the word is plural and no divinity is mentioned (13, 24; 15, 13; 59, 1; 172, 17). In our place, therefore, I have no doubt that he means a temple of Apollo in some Greek city,<sup>1</sup> and it seems probable that the

<sup>1</sup> Jordan, *Hermes*, XIV, 577, observes that in Cicero and his contemporaries *fanum* is used of Greek or other foreign temples, but not of temples in the city of Rome.



city was Ephesus, for the words *ex eisdem lapidicinis* refer to the quarries which he has just mentioned twice in connection with the *fanum Dianae* at Ephesus (249, 27; 251, 1). The second of these reads: *non enim plus sunt ab lapidicinis ad fanum milia passuum octo, nec ullus est clivus sed perpetuus campus*. Then our passage forms the next sentence: *nostra vero memoria cum colossici Apollinis in fano*, etc. Here it seems probable to me that *in fano* means 'in the temple of Apollo,' not 'in the temple of Ephesian Diana,' as Bürchner, following others before him, holds in his recent article on Ephesus in Pauly-Wissowa (p. 2812). There is no real evidence for this latter view, since Pliny's words, (*Myron*) *fecit et Apollinem quem ab triumviro Antonio sublatum restituit Ephesiis divus Augustus* (34, 58), do not necessarily refer to the Artemision. Apollo was worshipped under seven different titles at Ephesus (Bürchner, *ibid.* p. 2804); perhaps this statue was in the temple of Apollo Pythius on the harbor (Athenaeus, 361 e). It is tempting, of course, to think that Vitruvius's anecdote about the making of a new pedestal for the colossal Apollo is to be coupled with the passage of Pliny which has just been cited, and to conclude that *nostra memoria* refers to the time of Augustus. This is still more tempting when we remember that in the *Res Gestae*, 4, 49, Augustus says: *in templis omnium civitatum provinciae Asiae victor ornamenta reposui*; cf. Strabo, 14, 1, 14, p. 637 (three colossal statues by Myron plundered from Samos by Antony, two of which, Athene and Heracles, were returned by Augustus, and the third, Zeus, placed on the Capitol); and for other acts of restitution, see Dio Cass. 51, 17; Strabo, 13, 1, 30, p. 595. But there is nothing in all this to warrant an actual conviction that Augustus or any other emperor had to do with the particular affair which Vitruvius describes.

#### (4) *Templum and Aedes*

Since I have spoken of the use of *fanum* in Vitruvius, showing how carefully he employs the word, it may be worth while to note that he is equally correct in his use of *templum*.<sup>1</sup> He has the word thirteen times

<sup>1</sup> Besides Jordan's article on *templum*, *fanum*, and *aedes* already cited (*Hermes*, XIV, 567 ff.), there is a later treatment by Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg et Saglio, II, 2, p. 973 ff. But neither of these scholars deals with Vitruvius.



(exclusive of three passages in which the plural of it denotes the architectural members, the 'purlines'). It happens that he never applies it to any definite Roman temple. In seven passages it is used in the wider sense of a consecrated place set apart for a god or gods, a perfectly correct use,<sup>1</sup> although in no one of these passages is there any distinct reference to the Roman *inauguratio*. That he had in mind the original difference between such a consecrated space and the building in it is clear from 85, 13: *eam terrae regionem appellaverunt Ioniam, ibique deorum immortalium templa constituentes coeperunt fana aedificare, et primum Apollini Panionio aedem*, etc.; similarly 13, 23 and 84, 21, in both of which *templum* and *fanum* are used. For this sense of *templum*, the other four passages are 30, 25; 70, 11; 124, 27; 185, 5. Five times the word denotes a building or buildings, but in only one of them is a distinct building specified, — 161, 13, where *templum* refers to the temple at Eleusis. The others are 76, 17; 96, 9; 99, 23; 122, 21. Finally he has the word in the metaphorical phrase *ad summum templum architecturae*, 'to the heights of the holy ground of architecture' (7, 20)..

The word *aedes* is naturally far commoner in Vitruvius than either *fanum* or *templum*. It is used of temple *buildings* always,<sup>2</sup> as is proper (*Thesaurus*, s. v., p. 911, 61), not of the consecrated space. In the singular we have it thus 32 times; in the plural 17 times without a modifier, and 26 times with *sacrae*. Besides these he applies it to a score of definite temples, both Greek and Roman. The Roman temples are the Marian temple of Honor and Virtus (69, 19; 161, 21), and the temples of Quirinus (70, 4), Apollo and Diana (71, 13), Luna (116, 21), Flora (179, 12), Jupiter and Faunus on the Island (69, 11); and in Colonia Iulia Fanestrís the temples of Jupiter (107, 4) and of Augustus (107, 3), if *Augusti* be the correct reading. To some of these temples the technical word *templum* might no doubt have been correctly applied, for instance, to the first two in the list. But we must remember that *aedes* was the general term for all buildings devoted to the

<sup>1</sup> See the *Thesaurus*, s. v. *aedes*, p. 911, 58.

<sup>2</sup> Except once (145, 19) where the context makes it perfectly clear that *aedibus* means dwelling houses. This should have been quoted in the *Thesaurus*, p. 908, 82 ff., among the rare examples of the plural *aedes* meaning more than one house. Vitruvius also has *cava aedium* three times.

gods (Marquardt, *Staatsverw.*<sup>2</sup> III, p. 154), and that while Cicero uses *templum* of the temple of Quirinus (*Legg.* 1, 3), Augustus has *aedem Quirini* in his *Res Gestae*, 4, 6. In that work it has been observed that he never uses *templum* of any definite Roman divinity except in the cases of Apollo Palatinus and Mars Ultor (see Jordan, cited above, p. 11, and Mommsen, *Res G.*, p. 78).

The words *fanum*, *templum*, and *aedes*, therefore, are used by Vitruvius in a manner perfectly in accord with that of the Augustan age.

## CATULLUS AND THE AUGUSTANS

BY EDWARD KENNARD RAND

IN a review of Lucian Müller's *Quintus Horatius Flaccus, eine literarhistorische Biographie*, 1880, Alexander Riese<sup>1</sup> expressed the hope that a certain *Schatten und Schemen* would disappear forever from modern discussions of Latin literature. This phantom is the opinion, vigorously set forth by Müller in the above-mentioned essay, that Horace and Virgil were violent opponents of the Alexandrine school in Roman poetry, and of Catullus, as one of the chief representatives of this school. The phantom can hardly be said to have been banished yet. Though Müller's views do not appear in any of the larger histories of Latin literature,<sup>2</sup> and, among the editors of Catullus, Baehrens<sup>3</sup> joins Riese to the extent of regarding Horace's coolness toward Catullus as exceptional, Müller himself made no change in his belief. In his edition of the *Satires* and *Epistles* of Horace (1891), he touches on the question<sup>4</sup> without mentioning Riese, but referring once more to his own remarks in his earlier work. Likewise in the posthumous edition of the *Odes* and *Epodes*, published by Goetz (1900), there are no indications that Müller had surrendered his former position. Nor does he stand alone in this matter. Robinson Ellis, in his *Commentary on Catullus*,<sup>5</sup> declares that "Horace's sneer no doubt expresses the position of the Augustan poets to Catullus; they belonged to an epoch which, greatly as it was influenced by the era which preceded it, was in the main antagonistic to its chief representatives, and this for literary no less than political reasons." With these emphatic statements from two eminent scholars, the authors of standard editions of Horace

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<sup>1</sup> *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1881, p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> Except Cruttwell (p. 237) who speaks of the poet's popularity as "obscured" during the Augustan period.

<sup>3</sup> In his edition (1885), II, p. 62. Cf. Riese's edition (1884), p. xxxiii.

<sup>4</sup> On *Sat.* I, 10, 19.

<sup>5</sup> 1889, p. xx.

and Catullus, we may well pause to consider whether the phantom-idea denounced by Riese has not flesh and blood after all ; or, if he is right, it is time to dismiss permanently what impresses me as still a widely accepted notion that Catullus was not duly appreciated by the Augustans.

If it were not for Horace's apparent contempt, we should hardly infer from general considerations that the poetry of Catullus went into an eclipse in the Augustan Age. Despite the marked differences between this and the preceding period in both political sentiment and literary tendency, individual poets did not fail to look for inspiration to their precursors, whatever their school. Thus Virgil turns to Lucretius. Though the *Georgics* contains a fundamental criticism of the spirit of the *De Rerum Natura*, Virgil aims at rivalry, not depreciation, and pays his predecessor the compliment of frequent imitation. Further, the Augustan Age, though consecrated in the main to the revival and consummation of epic feeling, comprised various minor literary tendencies as well, among them the further development of Alexandrine motives. Sometimes the old form, transfused with the spirit of the age, becomes a new literary variety, as in Virgil's pastorals, epic through and through ; sometimes form and spirit both are reproduced, as in much of Ovid's work. Certainly the writers of elegy had no quarrel with the Alexandrines, and none with Catullus. He does not belong technically in the elegiac canon, and therefore is not included in Ovid's list of his precursors.<sup>1</sup> But the spiritual kinship of his work with theirs was obvious to the Augustan elegists. Ovid and Propertius are outspoken in their admiration,<sup>2</sup> and while Tibullus has no mention of him, and few if any imitations, Ovid would not have pictured the elder poet as welcoming the younger in Elysium,<sup>3</sup> had the latter felt a marked antipathy to Catullus. Apart from the elegy, various minor poets of the period speak reverently of Catullus or copy him in their works ; among them

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<sup>1</sup> *Trist.* 4, 10, 53 ff. See Schanz, *Röm. Literaturgesch.* § 269, and Jacoby, in his penetrating, but by no means conclusive, attempt to prove that the Romans invented the personal love-elegy; *Rhein. Mus.* LX (1905), p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> See Ovid, *Amores* 3, 15, 7 Mantua Vergilio, gaudet Verona Catullo; | Paelignae dicar gloria gentis ego. Propertius 3, 34, 87 Haec quoque lascivi cantarunt scripta Catulli | Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena.

<sup>3</sup> *Amor.* 3, 9, 62 Obvius huic venias hedera iuvenilia cinctus | tempora cum Calvo, docte Catulle, tuo.



are Maecenas, Domitius Marsus, Lygdamus, and the authors of the *Dirae*, the *Lydia*, and, above all, the *Ciris*. This narrows considerably our field of investigation; of the poets whose works are now extant, only Virgil and Horace remain. Leaving the more difficult problem for the moment, let us consider, so far as it may be inferred, the nature of Virgil's estimate.

That various reminiscences of Catullus appear in Virgil's verse is a well-known fact, recognized by Ellis<sup>1</sup> in the very passage in which he speaks of the antagonism of the Augustans to Catullus. To the coincidences already noted, I can add but one; my object is rather to consider the character of Virgil's imitations, which have been detected but not yet adequately discussed.<sup>2</sup>

One significance of the minor poems, attributed to Virgil, is that they give evidence of a distinctly Catullan period in his career. And why may we not safely attribute to him many pieces, though not all, in the collection transmitted under his name? It is possible to discard them all as supposititious, regarding Suetonius as the victim of an erroneous tradition; it is hardly possible, with Schanz and other critics, to accept a few of the epigrams and discredit everything else. While few care to claim the *Aetna*, the *Dirae*, the *Ciris* for Virgil, reputable scholars still ascribe the *Culex*, the *Copa*, the *Moretum* to him. Certainly for the *Culex* the external testimony is so strong that strict logic forces us to accept the traditional authorship until positive proof of the spurious character of the poem be alleged. But that has not been done;<sup>3</sup> the very crudities of the work are what we should expect from an undeveloped genius of sixteen.<sup>4</sup> The influence of Lucretius is more

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xx.

<sup>2</sup> I have depended chiefly on the collections of A. Danysz, *De scriptorum Romanorum studiis Catullianis*, Breslau, 1876; Süss, *Catulliana*, in *Acta Seminarii Philol. Erlangensis*, I (1878); the editions of Schwabe (1886), p. vii, and Simpson (1879), p. 6; and, best of all, C. N. Cole, *De Vergilio Catulli Imitatore* (a Harvard doctor's dissertation, unpublished), 1901. Cole classifies and carefully sifts the parallels already discovered.

<sup>3</sup> See F. Skutsch, *Aus Virgils Frühzeit*, 1901, p. 125 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ribbeck's substitution of 26 (on the basis of Statius, *Silv.* 2, 7, 64) for 16 in the *Vita* (see Ribbeck's *Appendix Vergiliana*, p. 19) would, if justified, prove the *Culex* spurious; for Virgil could not have written this inferior poem a year or two before his earliest eclogues. But is Statius's chronology any more surprising than that

pronounced in the poem than that of Catullus, but some reminiscences appear,<sup>1</sup> while various of the epigrams in the *Catalepton* are in Catullus's more boisterous manner (as VI and XII) and contain obvious parodies (as in VI and X). These minor poems, then, show us, as we should expect, that at the outset of Virgil's career his chief masters were the two great Roman poets of the day. What Baehrens<sup>2</sup> says of Catullus's influence on the young writers of the Augustan Age—*hic dux, hic magister erat ad poesin tendentibus*—applies aptly to Virgil.

Coming to the *Eclogues*, we find only a few, but these significant imitations. Several coincidences in phrase or metrical effect I will pass without discussion, directing the reader's attention rather to certain verses in the fourth *Eclogue*. The description of the Golden Age (v. 40) recalls that in Catullus 64, 39, while unquestionably the lines

‘Talia saecula’ suis dixerunt ‘currite’ fuis  
concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae

echo the refrain of the Fates' epithalamium in the same poem

Currite ducentes subtegmina, currite, fusi

with the verses standing immediately before and after the wedding-song—

Talia divino fuderunt carmine fata (322),  
Talia praefantes quondam felicia Pelei  
carmina divino cecinerunt pectore Parcae (383).

This, I conceive, is imitation with a meaning.

Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* has been subjected to many interpretations in recent years, some of them as fantastic, if not as edifying, as that of the Christian fathers; yet much has been done toward making this strange poem more humane and intelligible to us. Warde Fowler, in an article in these *Studies*,<sup>3</sup> has shown conclusively, by a skilful interpretation of the closing lines, that the poet sings of a real child. Marx,<sup>4</sup> on other

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of Martial (4, 14, 13), who pictures Catullus as humbly presenting his *Passer* to the great Virgil?

<sup>1</sup> See Süss, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> In his edition, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> XIV, p. 17 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Neue Jahrbücher für Phil. u. Päd.* I (1898), p. 105 ff.

grounds, had come to this conclusion, arguing also, in conformance with the most ancient tradition, that the child is Pollio's son, Asinius Gallus. Other recent writers<sup>1</sup> incline rather to the curious notion that the unborn Messiah was the offspring of Octavian and Scribonia, and turned out a girl, the empress Julia, of unhappy memory. But this supposition credits Virgil with little sense of humor at the time when he composed his poem. Many seers have prophesied a Golden Age; few have been rash enough to proclaim the sex of an unborn child. The poem was written in 40, after the birth of the child — Asinius Gallus was born in 41 — though the imaginative setting of the poem, as Fowler has shown,<sup>2</sup> is the moment of the birth. Finally, there remains an important question — the source and the purpose of the strange imagery in which Virgil clothes his prediction. The possibility of Virgil's using Hebrew literature at first or second hand — a possibility that none may safely deny — does not solve, but postpones the question. As Dr. Johnson long ago remarked,<sup>3</sup> the exalted language seems out of proportion to the historical occasion which it celebrates; it bursts miraculously from a clear sky. Is this simply the exuberant bad taste of youth, or had Virgil a motive after all? One may be found, if we pay due attention to a poem, the evidence of which has not been adequately emphasized in recent discussions of the problem. Many have noted the close connection in sentiment and phrase between the fourth eclogue and Horace's sixteenth epode. Kiessling long ago<sup>4</sup> detected clear traces of imitation on Virgil's part, declaring this a palpable compliment to his younger confrère, despite the essential difference in the sentiment

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<sup>1</sup> Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Skutsch, *op. cit.*, p. 148; Kroll in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, CXXIV (1905), p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Adventurer*, No. XCII, 1753. "That the golden age should return because Pollio had a son appears so wild a fiction, that I am ready to suspect the poet of having some other purpose which he took this opportunity of producing to the public."

<sup>4</sup> *Philol. Untersuchungen*, 1881, p. 113, and in his edition of Horace, introduction to Epode 16. I have tried to show (*Trans. of Amer. Phil. Association*, XXXV, 1904, p. 136) that Horace later on treats Ovid with similar courtesy. Marx (*op. cit.*, p. 114, cf. also *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz dargebracht*, 1902, p. 136) endeavors to prove — I think unsuccessfully — that Epode 16 follows the fourth eclogue. Against his view may be cited Usener, *Die Sintfluthsagen*, 1899, p. 205, and Norden (see below, p. 20, note 4).

of the two poems, and Sellar,<sup>1</sup> in his essay on Horace, acutely observes: "The only difference is that Horace seems to express the feelings of the losing side before the peace of Brundisium; Virgil those of the winning side after its conclusion." But in Sellar's fuller discussion of the fourth eclogue<sup>2</sup> this observation is not developed further, and no recent writers, to my knowledge, except Professor Ramsay, in an article inaccessible to me,<sup>3</sup> and Norden, in his splendid essay on Virgil's *Aeneid*,<sup>4</sup> state clearly that Virgil's poem is an answer to the sixteenth epode. Horace, despairing of success, bids his countrymen depart for the happy isles and the blessings of the Golden Age; Virgil, adopting naturally the same imagery, declares that the Golden Age is here and now — a belief to which Horace himself was later won.<sup>5</sup> Some of the details in Virgil's picture come doubtless from the Sibylline oracle on which his prophecy is based — perhaps, as Marx's scholarly article goes far toward showing, there are connections direct or indirect with Isaiah after all. But for the motive of the poem, and part at least of the imagery, we need look no farther than Horace. That Horace had searched the scriptures for his vision of Atlantis — *credat Iudaeus Apella*.

But the eclogue has a definite relation to Catullus, too, as the imitations show. In his sixty-fourth poem, Catullus looks back with longing to the heroic past

O nimis optato saeculorum tempore nati  
 heroes, salvete, deum genus, o bona matrum  
 progenies, salvete iterum (v. 23)

and sighs that the blessed gods no longer walk with men (vv. 384 ff.). Such feeling is pure romanticism; it is the spirit of Keats's *Endymion*, sentimental, not naive, in Schiller's memorable distinction. Catullus,

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<sup>1</sup> *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Virgil*, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Proceedings of the Franco-Scottish Society*, 1898. Fowler, p. 19, quotes with approval an interesting paragraph from this paper, but after criticizing the idea that the child is merely the representative of the new Roman generation he does not return, in discussing the sources of the poem, to Ramsay's more important suggestion (p. 34).

<sup>4</sup> *Vergils Aeneis im Lichte ihrer Zeit*, in *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Philol.* VII. (1901), p. 252.

<sup>5</sup> *Carm.* 4, 2, 37.



in his yearning for the primitive, corrects the ruder morality of Hesiod and idealizes the mythical world, even though his present story contains a Theseus.<sup>1</sup> Such sentiment is alien to the classic Virgil, whose sympathies, though they sweep through history, converge upon the present.<sup>2</sup> Virgil had studied the sixty-fourth poem with care and devotion, but here he rebukes, as an epic Augustan must, its fundamental tone. *Talia saecula*—these are not the dim ages of a perfect past. The fourth eclogue is the answer to Horace's pessimism and Catullus's romanticism.<sup>3</sup>

When Virgil turned to the *Georgics*, the spell of Catullus, for the moment, was not on him. As preparation for this greater undertaking, he immersed himself, first of all, in Lucretius. Here and there we detect a correspondence with Hesiod, or some uninspired didactic poet of the Alexandrine age, but these furnish mere facts, crude material, to be elevated by Virgil to poetry and good taste. The conception of Virgil as a conscientious metaphrast may appeal to hunters of coincidences, but the *Georgics* cannot be analyzed into its elements; Virgil is a magician, not a chemist. For all his works, he turns to one or two great poets who are masters of the spirit, the controlling idea, which he would possess; and them he studies. For the *Eclogues* it is Theocritus, for the *Georgics* Lucretius, for the *Aeneid*, and the latter half of the fourth *Georgic*, Homer. Not to deny the use of many other writers,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For admirable remarks on this matter, see G. Lafaye, *Catulle et ses Modèles*, 1894, p. 165 f.

<sup>2</sup> Norden's definition of the *Aeneid* as 'ein romantisches Nationalepos' is not true to his brilliant description of the essential spirit of Virgil's undertaking; the term does not apply to a work in which (p. 313) 'die römische Geschichte als ein grosser, aus Verheissung, Erwartung, Vorbereitung und Erfüllung planmässig sich zusammenschliessender Kreislauf erscheint, in dem Anfang und Ende unterscheidungslos sich vereinigen.' Norden's failure to appreciate the *Eclogues*—they betray 'unerquickliche Stilisierung' (p. 253)—is due to his first conceiving them as the work of an 'echter Romantiker' (p. 271). The best guide to the *Eclogues* is Milton's *Lycidas*.

<sup>3</sup> *Aen.* 6, 648 hic genus antiquum Teucri . . . | magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis | Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor, contains, it would seem, a reminiscence of Catullus 64, 22. But the spirit cannot be the same. I agree with Forbiger, against Conington and others, that the "better years" are simply those of Troy's past, not the Golden Age. The sentiment is appropriate for Aeneas: it is not the poet's own.

<sup>4</sup> P. Jahn, in several recent articles (*Hermes* XXXVIII, *Philol.* XVII, *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII) has added considerably to our knowledge of Virgil's sources, but lovers

these are his paramount models ; these he turned over day and night, according to Horace's precept ; from them he is not ashamed to reproduce the minutest details, not as a plagiarist, who cannot himself invent. For, if I may be pardoned a moment's digression on a well-worn theme, ancient poetry, particularly Roman poetry, was a near neighbor of liturgy, revealing even in its later stages the nature of the ritual, from which it sprang. Repetition of idea and phrase was not a mere license, but a poetic necessity ; the principles governing the treatment of the myths in Greek tragedy applied also, in serious poetry, to the very choice of words. We should speak, in this matter, not of imitation, but of a kind of apostolic succession of imagery and phrase. This liturgical reëchoing of established diction in a new setting, a thoroughly Roman practice, yet not altogether Roman, as the stock lines and epithets of Homer show, we find of course in Virgil ; but this is not mere metaphrase, and this is not the whole contents of his poetry.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Georgics*, then, Virgil's attention is centred chiefly on Lucretius. Catullus appears in a stray phrase or refrain here and there, but these reminiscences, a half-dozen in all, have no special meaning.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the most interesting is the reproduction, with a necessary alteration in the metrical effect, of a well-known verse. Catullus says of the apple which falls from the maiden's lap (65, 23)

atque illud prono praeceps agitur decursu.

The rhythm is as successfully descriptive as Homer's line on the rolling stone. But Virgil, who is speaking of a rushing stream, cannot end the movement so abruptly (*G.* 1, 203) :

atque illum praeceps prono rapit alveus amni.

It is in the *Aeneid* that we see how carefully Virgil had studied

of poetry will not relish his endeavor to squeeze the last drop of inspiration from Virgil's verse. Until more convincing proof is produced than these series of far-fetched parallels, one may be pardoned for finding the *Georgics* something more than laborious compilation tricked out with poetical embroidery.

<sup>1</sup> Heinze has a well-considered chapter on this matter (*Virgil's Epische Technik*, p. 235 ff.), though he treats solely of the construction of Virgil's narrative. Even better is Norden's discussion, *op. cit.*, p. 331 ff.

<sup>2</sup> P. Jahn adds several to the list (*Rhein. Mus.* LVIII, p. 394).

Catullus's verse. Now it is some striking epithet or phrase which he reproduces, as in the following instances and about a dozen more.

Sive quae septemgeminus colorat

aequora Nilus (11, 7)

et septemgeminus turbant trepida ostia Nili (*Aen.* 9, 582)

ferarum gelida stabula (63, 53)

stabula alta ferarum (*Aen.* 6, 179)

carbasus obscurata decet ferrugine Hibera (64, 227)

pictus acu chlamydem et ferrugine clarus Hibera (*Aen.* 9, 582)

Troia virum et virtutum omnium acerba cinis (66, 90)

Troia . . . virtutesque virosque aut tanti incendia belli (*Aen.* 1, 566).

Again, not only a phrase, but the swing of an entire verse reappears in Virgil, as

Quae Syrtis, quae Scylla rapax, quae vasta Charybdis (64, 156)

Quid Syrtes, aut Scylla mihi, quid vasta Charybdis (*Aen.* 7, 302)

Invita o regina tuo de vertice cessi (66, 39)

Invitus regina tuo de litore cessi (*Aen.* 6, 460).

This last instance, in which the words from Aeneas's solemn protest to Dido were spoken first by Berenice's lock, illustrates the remark of the Verona scholiast on *Aen.* 10, 557 that Virgil *neque temporis neque loci habet curam* in his imitations. Here and elsewhere it is merely the word or the rhythm that he appropriates, with no thought of the original setting — unhappily, sometimes, as in the present case.

Elsewhere, however, we are reminded irresistibly of the whole context from which the words are taken. This is a more important kind of imitation, since it presents a larger field for contrast, and openly challenges criticism. Some further purpose besides the desire to repeat is often manifest in these larger reproductions.

Multae illam frustra Tyrrhena per oppida matres

optavere nurum (*Aen.* 11, 581)

conveys an obvious compliment to Catullus, in suggesting one of his most beautiful, and doubtless most familiar strains:

Multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae (62, 42).

This is reëchoed by Ovid,

Multi illum iuvenes, multae tetigere puellae (*Met.* 3, 353).

On the other hand, another such imitation apparently corrects what Virgil considers a rhetorical mistake in his original. Catullus thus renders Homer's famous verse (*A* 1, 528) on the nod of Zeus:

Has postquam maesto profudit pectore voces  
supplicium saevis exposcens anxia factis  
adnuit invicto caelestum numine rector,  
quo nutu tellus atque horrida contremuerunt  
aequora concussitque micantia sidera mundus (64, 202).

Though the lines in themselves are striking, the added details in the closing description spoil the impressive climax of the original. Virgil remedies this fault, in his rendering, which appears twice in the *Aeneid* (9, 104; 10, 113):

Dixerat idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris  
per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas  
annuit et totum nutu tremefecit Olympon

—lines that for their majestic resonance may well stand side by side with Homer. Perhaps Virgil is concerned only with Homer here; but perhaps, in view of his intimate acquaintance with the sixty-fourth poem, and the presence of *annuit* at the beginning of the line in both passages, he is thinking of Catullus too.<sup>1</sup> In that case the imitation becomes a kind of criticism.

Virgil was deeply impressed, like many readers since his day, with the tender sadness of the one hundred and first poem—*Frater Ave atque Vale*. Various scholars of the Renaissance detected an echo of this poem in the splendid passage at the opening of the eleventh *Aeneid*, where Aeneas pronounces the last words over the body of Pallas (v. 97):

Salve aeternum mihi maxime Palla,  
aeternumque vale.

If here the coincidence is due rather to the fact that both poets are repeating independently the formal language of the burial rite, at least

<sup>1</sup> So understood by Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 76.



in the following instance, which, strangely, editors have not noticed, Virgil repeats Catullus directly. The first line of the poem

Multas per gentes et multa per aequora vectus

reappears in the words with which Anchises welcomes Aeneas in the world below (6, 692) :

Quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum  
accipio !

This is the larger kind of imitation. Virgil takes more than the words ; he infuses something of the pathos of the "tenderest of Roman poets" into the longing of Anchises for his son. It is not accidental, either, that in the vision which is a kind of prophecy of this scene (*Aen.* 5, 722), Anchises's words should also suggest Catullus. The invocation

Nate, mihi vita quondam, dum vita manebat,  
care magis, nate, Iliacis exercite fatis

is modelled closely on the opening verses in Aegeus' parting injunction to his son (64, 215) :

Gnate mihi longe iucundior unice vita,  
gnate, ego quem in dubios cogor dimittere casus.

In both these instances, then, Virgil appropriates the pathos of an entire scene from Catullus for an impressive moment in his own narrative.

More than this, Virgil studied Catullus profoundly for one of the most important episodes in his epic—the story of Dido. Here, naturally, he turns chiefly to the sixty-fourth poem and Ariadne ; his purpose is both to learn from his model, and to surpass it. Imitation is in evidence at the start. The description of the palace of Dido (*Aen.* 1, 637)

At domus interior regali splendida luxu

recalls that of the royal house in which Peleus and Thetis were wed —

Tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaza (64, 46)

and at the opening of the fourth book, as the story of Dido is resumed, reminiscence at once reappears. The line

Quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes (4, 10)

takes the reader back to

utinam ne . . . malus hic celans dulci crudelia forma  
consilia in nostris requiesset sedibus hospes (64, 175)

and challenges his comparison of the heroines at the start. As the story proceeds, Dido's passion and her grief find expression more than once in refrains from the lament of Ariadne, as these passages instance :

saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu (4, 532)  
prospicit et magnis curarum fluctuat undis (64, 63)

per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos (4, 316)  
sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos (64, 141)

felix si litora tantum  
numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae (4, 657)  
utinam ne tempore primo  
Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes (64, 171).

The fourth book contains likewise a reminiscence of another poem of Catullus

quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem (4, 599)  
nam nec tam carum confecto aetate parenti (68, 119)

and, finally, the bit of the Cretan legend which appears at the beginning of the sixth book shows traces of Catullus again. The labyrinth is called *inextricabilis error* (v. 27) after Catullus's phrase *inobservabilis error* (v. 115), while

caeca regens filo vestigia (6, 30)

is modelled on

errabunda regens tenui vestigia filo (64, 113).

Virgil, then, in preparation for his story of Dido, had studied and absorbed the sixty-fourth poem of Catullus, and all along, by intentional imitation,<sup>1</sup> he invites the reader to compare the two heroines and the two stories. This is, in part, a sign of homage to his predecessor, in

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<sup>1</sup> One or two other less striking coincidences which I have not included here are given by Danysz, *op. cit.*, p. 6 ff. The parallels in the two stories are carefully treated by Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

part a challenge to him. For Virgil has nothing to lose by the comparison. While Catullus gives us pathos at its highest, the fourth *Aeneid* is tragedy — tragedy of which Sophocles would not have been ashamed.

Though the above instances amply attest Virgil's respect for Catullus and the care with which he pondered his poems, two imitations, which I have reserved for the last, will put the matter beyond doubt. The proud words with which the Italian Remulus taunts the foreign invaders (*Aen.* 9, 617)

O vere Phrygiae (neque enim Phryges) ite per alta  
Dindyma, ubi assuetis biformem dat tibia cantum,  
tympana vos buxusque vocat Berecynthia Matris  
Idaeae

are cited by various editors,<sup>1</sup> with passages from other poets, as a parallel for the feminine adjective in the *Attis*, but only one,<sup>2</sup> to my knowledge, has pointed out the direct imitation of this poem :

Agite ite ad alta, Gallae, Cybeles nemora simul,  
simul ite, Dindymenae dominae vaga pecora (v. 12)  
ubi cymbalum sonat vox, ubi tympana reboant,  
tibicen ubi canit Phryx (v. 21).

Everybody has noticed, also, the echo of Homer's 'Αχαιῖδες, οὐκ' ἔτ' Ἀχαιοί (*B* 235) but not the significance of thus mentioning Homer and Catullus in the same breath. To be sure, the strain is light in spirit, approaching comedy, in both epics, so that even an Alexandrine might be matched with the father of poetry. But the two appear again in a setting of tragedy. The beautiful simile which describes the death of Euryalus (*Aen.* 9, 435)

purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro  
languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo  
demisere caput, pluvia cum forte gravantur

<sup>1</sup> See e. g. Ellis on 63, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Simpson, edition, p. 6. Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 116, thinks the coincidence here is accidental.

combines, as has long been noted, a suggestion from Catullus's lines (11, 22)

cecidit velut prati  
ultimi flos praetereunte postquam  
tactus aratro est

with Homer's

μήκων δ' ὥς ἐτέρωσε κάρη βάλεν, ἥ τ' ἐνὶ κήπῳ  
καρπῷ βριθομένη νοτίησί τε εἰαρινῇσιν (© 306).

Lastly, the still finer simile in one of the most exalted passages in all Virgil, the lament for Pallas (11, 68)

qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem  
seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi,  
cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit,  
non iam mater alit tellus viresque ministrat

recalls both the former imagery and the famous lines on the withered flower in Catullus's epithalamium (62, 39) from which we have noted a reminiscence in Virgil elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

What higher regard for a brother poet could be shown? Virgil is independent and an Augustan; his imitations in the fourth *Eclogue* and in the tragedy of Dido are a challenge to the pathos and romanticism above which, in his sixty-fourth poem, Catullus does not rise. But such rivalry is a contest over great issues with a respected opponent, a far remove from animosity or contempt. It is the spirit in which, if I read aright the close of the second *Georgic*, Virgil, in a different issue still, flings the gauntlet before his no less revered master Lucretius. So with Catullus, he imitates him in the little and in the large, and in both comedy and tragedy mates his verse with Homer's. Generous rivalry and high esteem—this is what we may read, I believe, in Virgil's imitations of Catullus.

This leaves us Horace as the only Augustan inimical, or possibly inimical, to Catullus. Horace is too subtle to be summarized in the paragraph remaining to me. But are not his references to his own accomplishments technically justified?<sup>2</sup> And in commenting on a cer-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> See Lafaye, *Catulle et ses Modèles*, pp. 13 and 22.



tain ape and would-be champion of the ancients who was

nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum (S. 1, 10, 19)

does he sneer at Catullus too? In satirizing a Methodist of Preraphaelite leanings — I hope I am not straining analogy — whose acquaintance with English poetry was limited to two of his recently sanctioned hymns, the *Crossing of the Bar* and the *Recessional*, we should not thereby intend disrespect to Tennyson or Kipling.<sup>1</sup> There are few, if any, direct reminiscences of Catullus in Horace,<sup>2</sup> and no outspoken praise of him — no mention at all except in the line just quoted. But Ovid, a declared admirer, does not mention him, either, in the very place where he treats of Roman love-poetry; we have noted the reason for this, and it holds for Horace, too.<sup>3</sup> Horace approved the work of the youthful Ovid, if I am right in finding imitation of Ovid in his poetry;<sup>4</sup> why should he not appreciate Alexandrines of the earlier school? His friendship for Valgius Rufus is beyond dispute,<sup>5</sup> and this writer praises the school of Catullus, in the person of the poet Cinna, for whom Catullus in his ninety-fifth poem shows such regard.<sup>6</sup> And does not Virgil's feeling for Catullus, of which I hope there is no further reason to doubt, throw some light on what Horace thought? Horace gives us, in his eleventh *Epode*, a sly satire on the erotic school,<sup>7</sup> and there are touches of genial raillery in both his ode (1, 33) and his letter (1, 4) to Tibullus. But his affection for Tibullus is none the less obvious. Horace in his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. similar remarks by Riese, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

<sup>2</sup> Certainly Simpson's list, *op. cit.*, p. 6, needs vigorous pruning.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Transactions of Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XXXV (1904), p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> See *Carm.* 2, 9, and *Sat.* 1, 10, 81 — the very satire which contains the "sneer" at Catullus.

<sup>6</sup> One would imagine from Schwabe, edition, p. viii, that the testimony of Valgius is more explicit still. The Verona scholiast on Virgil, *Ecl.* 7, 22, quotes Valgius's lines on Codrus. Schwabe makes them read: *ille canit quali tu voce Catulle canebas | atque soles numeros dicere, Cinna, tuos, etc.*, but both in Keil, to whom Schwabe refers, and in the new edition of the Verona scholia by Thilo and Hagen, *Appendix Serviana*, 1902, p. 399, there is no mention of Catullus — the line runs, *Codrusque ille canit quali tu voce canebas* — nor can his name possibly be conjectured from the variant readings.

<sup>7</sup> Convincingly shown by Plüsz, *Das Iambenbuch des Horaz*, 1904, p. 72.

second *Epode*<sup>1</sup> first rivals and then parodies one of Virgil's most splendid passages—the close of the second *Georgic*—and in an early poem not published till the second edition of the odes (4, 12)—for I cannot think this was written for some other Virgil—he presents the poet in a most ridiculous light. Yet his devotion to his best friend none would presume to deny. It is rash to classify a humorist like Horace; to prove him a foe of Catullus we really must fall back on the argument from silence—as dangerous here as elsewhere. But recognizing that Horace is a puzzle, or even admitting that for once he shows a tinge of human jealousy, I hope that the reader will find evidence in this paper for the justice of Riese's appeal, and agree that the phantom-idea which he denounced should not appear again in our estimate of the Augustans.

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<sup>1</sup> Plüsz, *op. cit.*, p. 14, though here and elsewhere in this book the author's subtle fancy lures him to absurdities.

## ON FIVE NEW MANUSCRIPTS OF THE COMMENTARY OF DONATUS TO TERENCE

BY MINTON WARREN

WHILE engaged in a search for Terence manuscripts last year, I came across in Rome five manuscripts of Donatus which seem to have escaped the notice of scholars, and which were not used by Wessner in his recent admirable edition. One of these, which I designate as *I*, is in the Vatican (Pal. Lat. 1629, cod. chart. 29 × 20 cm.), three others are in the Corsini library (43 G. 13, cod. chart. 31 × 20 cm. = *H*, 43 G. 23, cod. chart. 29 × 22 cm. = *Q*, and 43 E. 28, cod. chart. = *S*). All of these are probably of the late fifteenth century. The Vatican ms. has very long and full *subscriptions* written in Italian, often difficult to decipher, at the end of each play, giving in each case an exact date for the finishing of the play, viz. *Andria*, Aug. 27, 1474, *Eunuchus*, Sept. 4, *Adelphoe*, Sept. 17, *Hecyra*, Sept. 22, *Phormio*, Sept. 27. This order of plays is followed in the other codices. As a specimen I give one of the shorter *subscriptions*, that of the *Andria*. Huius scene p'me Ambros Umbsich per instantiam (?) del magnifico Capitano Bartholomeo Coglioni<sup>1</sup> de Bergamo in casa de Innocenti Cotta overo nel hosteria dela Spada nel luogo de porta Romana et anchora alodi (a Lodi?) al tempo dela rehedificatione del castello chiamato Porta Grobia del Signore duca con Milano. Scripsi a di xxvii di Agosto 1474 a hora xxiiii pro othoianu aluthā guerā de bresca. Other *subscriptions* are still more curious, but are too long to quote here. The initials at the beginning of each scene are ornamented with scrolls, with short legends in German often containing geographical names, as Ingolstadt, Bayern, Elsas, etc., so that the ms. must have some connection with Germany. Although palaeographically very interesting, the text is very corrupt. In the test passages given by Wessner, Vol. I, *Praefatio*,

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<sup>1</sup> Bartholomeo Coglioni, of whom there is a famous equestrian statue in Venice, held the office of Captain-General from June, 1458, until his death on November 3, 1475. See Oscar Browning, *Life of Bartolomeo Colleoni*, p. 35.

pp. xxx ff., it invariably agrees with the *libri deteriores*, but in those given on p. xli, it sometimes agrees with *ABV*. As a rule, Greek words are omitted except where given with Latin letters, as *ethicos*. This is true also of the other codices named above. Nevertheless *I* has some good readings which go to show how mixed is the manuscript tradition of Donatus. I can only cite here a few of its readings, giving page and line of Wessner's edition.

*I*, 16, 1 reperta, accepted by Wessner from ed. princeps, *ATCFV* repetita; 9, 16 terentius libo libertus alter libertinus; 14, 6 appocis = appotis, a reading credited to Leo, but first proposed by Bentley; 17, 2 illotos; 19, 20 Acio (*Actio V*<sup>2</sup>); 20, 9 claudicarit (cf. *V*<sup>2</sup>); 29, 20 chlamys (clamis codd.); 35, 8 ex partibus patrum priorum (cf. *V*<sup>2</sup>); 36, 13 aspecta with *A*; 49, 7 peritiam (*V*<sup>2</sup>); 51, 11 prodat and *in mg* pandat = *V*; 54, 15 admirabiliter (*V*<sup>2</sup>); 60, 6 eclypsis pulchra (*V*<sup>2</sup>); 104, 1 insitus est (cf. *V*); 61, 6 traxerit is omitted, *V* has *traxerat*.

Of the mss. in the Corsini library *H* and *Q* agree with the *libri deteriores*, *S* usually with these, but occasionally with the *meliores*, and it is noteworthy that at the end of the Phormio it has (fol. 294 r)

Aelii donati v. c. oratoris urbis Romae commentarium in Terentii Phormione explicit, cf. Wessner, *Praefatio*, p. ix. The scribe of *Q* was too modest to give his name. At the bottom of fol. 192 v is written

nomen meum non pono quia laudare nolo Amen.

and at the end of the codex, fol. 293 v,

nomen non ponam quia laudare nolo.

So far as I have examined their readings these mss. (*S*, *Q*) have very little value.

*H*, which is perhaps the latest of all these, and which indeed in the old catalogue of Rossi (under number XXIII) is credited to the sixteenth century, has at the end of the Andria the *alter exitus*, which I have now found in eleven other mss. besides those known to Umpfenbach. These I propose to treat in a separate paper. *H* is so late that it may have been influenced by some printed edition, and I shall only cite a few of its readings. Wessner, *I*, 3, 12 flore, but on margin  
† gratia

† forma; 3, 14 Cornelius Nepos; 5, 6 de numeratione (cf. *A*); 7, 9 vigesimum, but on margin trigesimum; 8, 17 non similem with *A*; 9, 2 milone for Limone; 14, 1 praesuli for praesidi; 14, 6 a poetis with *A*; 17, 3 illotis, but on margin at in iocis, the accepted reading for which



Wessner cites no ms. In the lemma on *And.* 607 it has *qui me hodie perdidit*. Bentley refers to this reading as given in MSS. and I have found *hodie* in at least a dozen Italian MSS.

#### THE CODEX CHIGIANUS

Far more important than the manuscripts named above is the manuscript in the library of Prince Chigi which bears the signature H. VII, 240, is of paper and measures 28 X 20 centimetres.<sup>1</sup> I designate it as *K*.

In the written catalogue it is called *Terentius cum commentariis*, but no mention is made of Donatus. The catalogue dates it in the thirteenth century, which seems to me too early. The first two leaves are certainly later, probably of the fifteenth century, and two, possibly three, hands have been concerned in the writing of the remainder of the ms. which ends on fol. 143 r. Catch-words I have noted at the bottom of fol. 10 v, 20 v, 32 v, 42 v, 52 v, 62 v, 79 v (see below), 89 v, 99 v, 104 v (see below), 114 v, 124 v, 138 v. The commentary to the *Andria* ends on fol. 33 v, *Adelphoe* 59 r, *Eunuchus* 95 r, *Hecyra* 121 r, *Phormio* 143 r. On fol. 62 r the text ends in the middle of the page with *tremulus* (Wessner, I, p. 343, 21 = *Eun.* 336), the rest of the page and 69 v are left blank, and there follow two blank leaves unnumbered, but fol. 70 r begins in a different hand with *pro*, the next word after *tremulus*. After 104 v, which ends in *abesse* (Wessner, II, 236, 3 = *Hec.* 245), there is another blank leaf, and 105 r begins with *nuptam* and in a different hand. The order of the plays in the commentary is very significant (*And.*, *Ad.*, *Eun.*, *Hec.*, *Ph.*). The only other ms. of Donatus in which the *Adelphoe* follows the *Andria* is the Codex Parisinus 7920 (*A*) of the eleventh century which is justly regarded as the most important manuscript of Donatus. Unfortunately it only extends as far as *Ad.* 1, 1, 40. The

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<sup>1</sup> This library is open only on Thursdays (not holidays) from 9-12. I have to thank the American Ambassador, George von L. Meyer, for permission to use the library obtained through him from Prince Chigi. Owing to lack of time my notes were taken hurriedly, but I trust they are fairly accurate. I have examined the *Andria* with more care than the other plays. Dr. Robert Kauer, to whom I communicated my discovery, has made a further examination of the manuscript, and kindly permitted me to make use of it while deposited for a time in the library of the Austrian Institute in Rome.

above order, however, is ancient, for it was known to Priscian, who in his treatise *De Metris Terentii* follows it in citing the first lines of the prologues and first scenes (cf. Keil, III, p. 423). We may conclude then that if other correspondences are found in which *A* and *K* agree they go back ultimately to the same archetype. Of such correspondences, partial or complete, I cite the following, giving page and line of Wessner's edition.<sup>1</sup>

I, 50, 13 arete; 51, 19 inde decore; 55, 2 poeneste; 56, 6 intellegit om. *KA*; 14 quo *A* and scholia to Parisinus 7899; 57, 11 anastra; 58, 12 plerūque; 59, 4 multos om. *AK*; 9 panpolla; 67, 24 temporavit; 70, 3 edicta; 76, 13 i. c. f.; 85, 19 et ut; 90, 5 siit (so Wessner in text, sit *A*); 91, 5 fingā; 92, 4 impeditum, 5 pristinum; 94, 3 hac chidibus; 95, 7 in possum abit; 103, 11 putaverat, 12 quō, 15 ita nec, 17 glicere *K*<sup>1</sup>; 107, 7 rescisceret; 111, 19 educ; 113, 9 vicendat, 11 merito; 114, 15 ubi; 115, 14 ad immanium; 117, 19 abea (habea *A*); 120, 1 attentius; 126, 4 leviandum; 136, 18 attilli (at illi *A*); 139, 13 certa (certe *A*); 143, 6 convenio; 152, 21 ilucitum ei; 155, 8 dic; 156, 21 causa m. a.; 162, 13 capit; 172, 6 macrañ; 173, 18 abstrahatur; 178, 7 excidicia; 194, 10 se dum osce clareo; 195, 20 numeri; 199, 17 dec irato; 207, 4 ineptum est; 223, 1 chantharam; 238, 10 tilis; 240, 10 tiberem (ceberem *A*); 242, 4 ain unde sit; 247, 9 causas; 249, 9 hic situr b.; 254, 16 scruppeat in q. t.; 255, 7 ut poete *K*<sup>1</sup>; 260, 5 a n h.

In many other passages *K* has the same reading with *AV* or with *V* alone. Here it is to be noted that *K* omits I, 319, 3 OMNIA — p. 322, 17 habitabant, which in *V* is supplied on margin by *V*<sup>2</sup>. In the following passages *K* agrees with *V* alone according to Wessner.

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<sup>1</sup> It should be stated that folia 1 and 2 contain the Vita of Terence by Petrarch, a summary of the acts of the different plays in the order *And.*, *Eun.*, *Haut.*, *Hec.*, *Ph.*, *Ad.*, not the order of the codex itself, and a discussion of the virtues *Prudentia*, *Fortitudo*, *Temperantia*, and *Iustitia*. Compare *Donat. Comm. And.* 30, where *I* gives *prudentia iustitia fortitudo et temperantia* (so Donatus ed. Klotz) instead of *prudentia, iustitia, patientia, fortitudo* (Wessner). Fol. 31, in an older hand, begins with the Vita of Donatus, then follow (*Euanthius de Fabula*) *Initium*, etc., and *de Comedia*, to the bottom of fol. 6v which ends with *quod populo* (Wessner, I, 30, 9). Here probably two leaves have fallen out, and the next leaf begins with *sic dixit* (Wessner, 48, 3).

I, 8, 1 e; 70, 10 pro unam fortunam; 74, 13 quam; 75, 3 fiat ( $V^1$ ); 78, 2 quod; 80, 11 et mira; 82, 2 ut — daturum om.  $KV$ ; 96, 20 admirantur; 97, 7 parit — mas, 20 numeticum; 98, 18 non vilitate; 103, 15 est facere; 17 uti; 109, 12 atque solitudinem et dolorem; 115, 19 p eū se g. fit (the abbreviation above *u* might be read *er*, so that it would equal per everse, cf. *A*); 122, 15 magis consuetudine; 126, 2 addidit; 10 et duc; 161, 17 prodiris; 169, 3 pronuntiatum sum; 179, 10 cum; 183, 11 declinare; 190, 2 tydide c. (titide c.  $V$ ); 198, 11, adiceret; 343, 14 Tyresiat' si (cf.  $TC$ ); 377, 22 sinunt (sint  $C$ , si nunc  $V$ ); II, 229, 18 et pipides (for Εὐπιπίδης); 267, 19 puto felineos (*in mg.* vel felineos  $V$ ).

In many passages where  $V^2$  has corrected the text  $K$  coincides with  $V^1$ . Thus I, 63, 19 subest; 113, 22 meminerat; 180, 8 loco; 487, 20 ergo. In some passages where the reading of  $V^1$  cannot be made out,  $K$  in all probability preserves the original reading which is sometimes found in no other ms. Worthy of notice in this respect are the following examples. Many more might be given. I, 69, 18 collisus (*collisio*  $V$ ); 76, 15 permanes; 99, 11 multarum; 101, 13 a minoribus; 16, afficiendo; 102, 7 non; 117, 17 te tulerit; 120, 15 geminatio amatorie; 126, 1 tale; 130, 20 effectum; 134, 12 negato vidisse; 141, 18 caveas; 143, 7 dicturi; 146, 16 me cum; 148, 14 adnupta; 154, 14 deiuret; 158, 19 additur; 168, 7 destinationem; 173, 9 nota sis; 178, 14 plena uxorē; 197, 1 et illi aptum; 21 promoveri; 206, 1 nimis; 486, 24 ut persona eius cōvenigeri. Compare the emendation proposed by Heraeus, *Woch. f. Kl. Phil.*, 1903, 266, *ut personae eius convenit geri*.

In the test passages given by Wessner, *Praefatio*, I, p. xli,  $K$  agrees with  $ABV$  against  $TC$ , with  $AB$  against  $TCV$  (except in *And.* 542 where it has *vitabant* the correct reading with  $TCV$ ), with  $AV$  against  $BTC$ , with  $ATC$  against  $BV^1$ . So, too, in the passages given by Wessner, *Praef.* xxx–xxxii, it agrees invariably with the *meliores libri*, but in *Ad.* III, 4, 47, it deserves to be noted that it has *contra* for *adversus* with the excellent lost *Codex Cuiacii*. In *And.* 861 it omits *vel indulgentia loquitur* with  $AB$ . A close correspondence with  $B$  is seen in I, 202, 12 *pro sene scelere*, and many other instances might be cited. In I, 106, 12  $K^1$  had *voluit nolit*, but *voluit* which is the reading of  $TC$  has been crossed out, *nolit* the correct reading of the other mss.

has been kept. Just before in l. 9 *K* has *dicebam* with *A T C*. Glosses and variants there must have been in the archetype of *K*, which accounts for its occasional agreement with *T C* which are reckoned with the *libri meliores*. *K* agrees with *T* in inserting before the scenes the names of the characters. This is not done in the *Andria* and *Adelphoe*, so that unfortunately we cannot compare *K* with *A* in this respect. Spaces are left in these plays between the scenes, but the names have not been filled in. This begins to be done with *Eun.* III, 1, shortly after a change of hand. From this point on the headings agree substantially with those reported by Wessner, *Praef.* xlviii f., except where I note differences. I give, however, small letters for capitals.

*Eunuchus.*

- III, 1 Traso, Gnato, Parmeno.
  - 2 Thais, Traso, Parmeno, Gnato, Phitias (an order agreeing with the Victorianus of Terence).
- IV, 1 Doris, Ancilla.
  - 4 Phedria, Dorus, Phitias (*T* omits Phitias).
  - 7 Traso, Gnato, Sanga, Siricus, Dorax, Cremes, Thais (here fuller than *T*, but not agreeing with any of the Terentian MSS. *Dorax* for *Donax* is found in the text of Terence in several MSS.).
- V, 2 Cherea, Thais, Pithias (*T* against the MSS. has Pithias before Thais).
  - 3 Pitias, Cremes, Sofronia (om. *T*).
  - 4 Parmeno, Pitias (om. *T*).
- v. 943 Pithias, Parmeno (a new scene begins here in *PFC* and the Dunelmensis of Terence).
  - 5 Laches, Parmeno (om. *T*).
  - 6 Pithias, Parmeno (om. *T*).
  - 7 Gnato, Traso (om. *T*).
  - 8 Cherea, Parmeno, Gnato, Traso, Phedria (om. *T* and not agreeing in the order with any Terentian MS.).

*Hecyra.*

- I, 2 Parmeno, Philotis, Sira (wanting in Wessner's list).
- II, 1 Laches, Sostrata (wanting in W.).
  - 2 Phidippus, Laches, Sostrata (wanting in W. — order agrees with Bembinus and  $\gamma$  class).



III, 1 Pamphilus, Parmeno, Mirrina (wanting in W.). Mirrina is however crossed out. This is due to the fact that a new scene subsequently began as in *V* at III, 1, 38 = 318 (cf. Wessner, *Praefat.* xlix) before *Tace obsecro*, etc., where Mirrina is again inserted. I have found a new scene beginning at this point in the following late MSS. Vat. Ottobonianus 2022, Vat. Barb. 16, 82, and 133. The following, however, begin the new scene before *Tace* in v. 314, Ottobon. 1365, Florence, Laurent. LII, 24; and Conv. Sop. 50, 15.

III, 2 Sostrata, Pamphilus, Parmeno (wanting in W., and not agreeing with Terentian MSS.).

3 Pamphilus adolescens (wanting in W.).

4 Parmeno, Sosia, Pamphilus (wanting in W.).

IV, 1 Myrrina, Phidippus = *B*, Wessner.

In the remaining scenes of the *Hecyra* no headings have been inserted, and they are comparatively rare in the *Phormio*. I give only divergences from Wessner.

I, 1 Davus, Geta.

2 No space for a new scene.

II, 3 Demipho, Senex.

III, 1 Omitted.

3 Phedria.

IV, 2 Lacking.

4 Antipho.

5 Demipho, Cremes.

V, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 the heading is lacking as in *R*.

In the preservation of Greek words and citations *K* is superior to most MSS. of Donatus and in a few cases to all, but here, too, the practice as in the case of the scene-headings is very uneven. In the *Andria* e.g. the Greek words are often omitted. They seem to me best preserved in the *Hecyra* from Act II, s. 2, soon after the change of hand on fol. 105 r. In fact, the scribe who filled in the Greek has several times written on the margin *Pinxi*, and in one place *Pinxi hos apices grecos*. Elsewhere e.g. opposite *Phorm.* 68 and 87 is written *grecum deest*. Sometimes the Greek is written wholly or in part with

Latin letters. I give some examples which may be compared with Wessner's critical apparatus. I, 68, 2  $\dot{q}s$  vocēhe (cf. *A* and *V*); 86, 8 digna via (= digamma); 93, 1 te perifrasi; 97, 5 paramō ea (cf. para mo ea *A*, pari modo ea *V*); 137, 6 syno dōche tropos; 151, 15 yronicos; 163, 8 methaforicos (= *V*); 170, 7 methalempsis; 181, 14 p eufenus mon; 229, 13 pro sto (= πρὸς τὸ); 235, 21 silempsis (*AV*); 239, 2 parato olein (cf. *A* and *V*); 253, 17 asindetos; 278, 1 protasi (cf. *B*); 282, 3 adauxes inducens = ad αὔξειν ducens; 298, 19 nú mesin (cf. *V*); 315, 17 promuthion (cf. *V*); 329, 3 hyperbole; 19 trophimon (= *V*); 358, 2 attice; 383, 18 enī epiteton (cf. *V*); 465, 5 per hec fonesin; 496, 3 figurata dilogia. Vol. II, 208, 26 ma (other mss. all give *una*, and Wessner attributes μα to Stephanus). The following Greek, however, μα τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, *K* omits. 217, 25 dum auseris; 228, 23 dinotes; 267, 17 mira chonos. I cannot here cite all the passages, which I have noted, where the Greek is given as Greek. Often *K* coincides with *A*, *B*, or *V*, or one of the presumably lost codices to which Wessner refers. Sometimes it offers a better reading and sometimes it stands alone. The passages given below in the order of their occurrence have been selected in part to show the agreement of *K* with other mss., in part to show its divergence or superiority, but for the ms. variants I must refer the reader to Wessner. I have given accents and breathings only as they occur, (W) following the number of the line indicates that the Greek in *K* is identical with Wessner's text.

I, 55, 15 αξιολαλ (cf. *V*, here λα is for M as repeatedly in this ms.); 16 the same, but in 103, 1 a te more (*pro* omitted); 112, 24 λῆξεσι; 217, 16 εχει Naic (*AB*); 452, 9 verve enim το velle significat, which rather favors *iubere enim τὸ velle*, cf. Stephanus. II, 241, 7 (W); 242, 7 (W); 243, 21 (W); 245, 14 ἀπάρχεσ ἀρχιτελοῦσ; 25 μόλις (*cod. Cuiac.*); 247, 5 ade ἀλιπτικῶς (cf. *V*<sup>2</sup> and *adelphicos C*). This does not tend to support ὑπαλλακτικῶς Steph. 248, 6 ἐξεκταστικε υποκρισις, 7 διαλεκτικῶς ὑτιολοτικῇ ὑποκρίσις, 9 σκηματιστὸν ἔποσ (*V*<sup>2</sup>) ἀνακόλουθον (so also 254, 1); 254, 4 ἐχαρκτηρισμος (*V*); 256, 15 αἱ ἀπορεσις τί προτον ἔπιτα τίςτάτον καταδέξω, Wessner, Lindenbr. (*ex. cod. Cuiac. ut videtur*) \*\*\*\*\* codd.; 257, 9 (W); 10 σετλιασμόν; 258, 22. Here again *K* is superior to any known existing codex. For both the Homeric and the Apollodorus passage

Wessner is dependent upon Lindenbrog. In the Homeric passage (*Od.* 18, 136 f.) ἔχεις ριν is given for ἐστίν, and after οιον, ἐπι βαρ-  
αγησ ἑπατηαν ἄρων τε θεωντε. The Apollodorus passage reads οὔτοσ  
ἕκαστοσ διὰ τὰ πραγματα σέμνος ἡμῶν καὶ τάπινος differing from  
Lindenbrog in having ἡμῶν for ἦεν. Cobet conjectured ἡμῶν for  
οὔτως, cf. Kock, III, p. 284, and Wessner's Appendix where other  
conjectures are given. The corresponding Terence passage, *Hec.* 380,  
reads :

Ómnibus nobis út res dant sese, íta magni atque humilés sumus.

Perhaps we should read :

οὔτως ἕκαστός ἐστι διὰ τὰ πράγματα  
ἡμῶν τε σεμνὸς καὶ ταπεινός.

268, 18 ευφεγεσις (*V*) ; 270, 2 and 21 (*W*) ; 279, 1 and 19 as *V* ;  
282, 3 διατιρήσις (cf. *BV*) ; 283, 5 as *V* ; 289, 5 ἠθικ' closer than *B*  
or *V* to ἠθικῶς *Steph.* ; 289, 13 and 16 as *V* ; 293, 26 as *V* ; 300, 1 as  
*V* ; 301, 1 as *V* ; 314, 23 as *V* ; 324, 2 (*W*) ; 327, 19 καταπλήξις  
μετααπλης ἀποσιώπησις, the last word in no other codex, cf. *W* (κατα-  
πλήξις is also found 376, 14 and 377, 16 in *W*, but omitted by *K*) ;  
334, 24 and 335, 1 a mimetico ad dihegemationem et συντόμωσ ; 335,  
24 οἰκωμικὴ διανοία, the reading οἰκονομικῇ διανοίᾳ is due to Stephanus ;  
336, 23 ἐξαριθμηψίσις ; 338, 17 and 19 (*W*) ; 339, 14 as *V* ; 342, 4  
(*W*) ; 347, 1 (*W* except πρότον) ; 350, 10 (*W*) ; 353, 15 et περιφραστι-  
κῶς et ἀντι τοῦ (sic) ; 354, 4 ἀντιτοῦ ; 16 (*W*) ; 357, 3 and 13 (*W*) ;  
359, 1 ἀσυνδετος, 8 ἐλλιψις I (= *R*) ; 360, 2 ἐφεξέγεσις (cf. *V*), 7  
ἰδιοσίμω ; 361, 2 (*W*) ; 364, 1 ἀποσιώπησις II, 5 ἀνελλιψις for *An*  
ἐλλιψις ; 366, 5 (*W*), 6 et est ἀποσιώπησις om. *K* ; 371, 7 (*W*) ; 372,  
2 iii<sup>m</sup> παρέλκον ; 372, 5 προσάντια διάστολην ; 373, 13 om. *K*, but  
in mg. *grecū deest* ; 19 παρήακον (quartum om. *K*) ; 21 παρηακον iii ;  
374, 1 παρέλκον — plerumque om. *K* ; 4, significat παρήακον (cf. *R*) ;  
379, 5 and 12 (*W*) ; 380, 7 um αἵρεσις αἴρησ dicitur, but αἵρεσις is  
crossed out ; 384, 6 om. *K*. I am sorry to say that my notes on the  
*Phormio* stop at this point and I have none on the Greek in the  
*Adelphoe*.

## NEW FRAGMENT OF APOLLODORUS OF CARYSTUS

I have already given some instances where *K* preserves Greek not found in any of the extant codices, but in *Hecyra* 620 *K* has Greek attested for no other ms.<sup>1</sup>

Wessner's text reads: NOS IAM FABVLAE SVMVS ἀμαυρά. However, ἀμαυρά is an emendation of Schoell. *B*, the only ms. which has kept any trace of the Greek, has NANPA (cf. however Sabbadini, *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, II, p. 131). *K* reads as follows:

nos iam f. s. πὰν ἀρσομοδο  
ρο μύθοσ ἐσμεν δὴ πάμφιλε γρavs γυρον.

The εν of εσμεν is represented by an abbreviation, the vs of γρavs by a ligature. Before πὰν, παρ was written and then crossed out. I give only such accents as are found in *K*. We should separate, I think, ἀρσομοδορ ὁ μῦθος, and ἀρσομοδορ I believe to be the result of successive corruptions of *Apollodorus*, written now as Greek, now as Latin. In *Phorm.* 87 we find in *K* *Appollodor'* (with two *p*'s) just as *Hec.* 550 *K* has ἡθικ' for ἡθικῶς, and this may account for the loss of *us*. ρ stands for *p* as *p* for ρ in the curious corruption *et pipides* given above for Εὐριπίδης (*Hec.* 214). Compare also *And.* 406 where *pontes* is found in several mss. (also in *K*) for *ποντες*. Finally, μ (*M*) is a corruption, which may be very ancient, of ΛΛ. Compare *And.* 57, where for *mira* ἐλλειψις (probably written as elsewhere ἐλλιψις). *K* has *mire musis*, *TC*, *mire missis* (*V*<sup>2</sup> has *eclipsis pulchra* in ras). The corruption must antedate the eleventh century as *A* has *mire misis*. Compare further *And.* 149, ΕΜΙΥΙC in *A*; *And.* 300 *est*; *Misis* in *A*; *And.* 872 Ε·ΛΛ·Ι·Υ·ΙS in *A*. How now are we to explain the παν which precedes αρσομοδορ and how NANPA in *B*? In *And.* 447 *B* has TONNPENON for τὸ πρέπον, in *And.* 798 TPENON for πρέπον, and if one will consult Wessner's critical apparatus on *And.* 350, 423, 696, 950, *Eun. Praefatio*, I, 8 (Wessner, I, 266, 18), *Eun.* 14, 405, etc., one will find numerous examples in *A*, *B*, and other mss. of the interchange of Π and Ν, so that in the archetype of all our

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the Apollodorus' passages quoted by Donatus, *Hec.* I, I, I and 2, I, 17, are omitted in *K*.



MSS. they must have been easily confused. NANPA therefore may stand for ΠANPA and PA may be due to a transposition of AP in ἀρσομοδορ.

Returning for a moment to Terence. Recent editors, despite the MSS. and Donatus, following Guyet, read :

postrémo nos iam fábulā  
sumus, Pámphile, 'senex átque anus'

although *A* divides the verse after *sumus*. *Fabula* is strongly confirmed by the Greek ὁ μῦθος. With substitution of ἤδη = *iam* and a slight transposition we may perhaps read :

ὁ μῦθος ἐσμεν Πάμφιλ' ἤδη γράυς γέρων

or keeping δῆ

ὁ μῦθος ἐσμεν δὴ γέρων γράυς Πάμφιλε.

The explanation of παν is not far to seek. As it precedes ἀρσομοδορ it cannot be part of the Greek quotation, for Donatus does not thus intercalate a poet's name. παν must therefore stand for the Latin letters *p a n*, which were thought to be Greek and were written as Greek, just as we find in *V, Eunuchus* 634 ἀναφερέσις written for *An ἀφαίρεσις*, and in *K, Phor.* 52 ἀνελλιψις for *An ἐλλιψις*. In *K, fabulae sumus* is represented by *f. s.* At some stage in the transmission the words following *sumus*, of which the Greek original is given, namely, *Pamphile 'senex atque anus,'* were probably represented by the initials *p. s. a. an'* (for *anus*) or *an*, for often the first two letters of a word were written. Compare Wessner, II, 229, 2, LI. CO. changed in MSS. to *loco*; II, 230, 2, *ab. s.* in MSS. *abis*; I, 142, 21, *du. i.* in *B* for *dubium id.* The cases, however, are numerous where the ignorant scribe, for whom these initial letters had no meaning, omitted some of them, especially when the same letter was repeated. Thus *f. s. p. s. a. an* would easily be corrupted to *f. s. p. an*, and then *p. an* to *pan*, παν. Some may prefer to see in *pan* a corruption of *pam* in *Pamphile* (written *Panphile* as sometimes in the MSS. of Terence), but I prefer the first explanation for this reason. I believe that the σ in ἀρσομοδορ is due to the fact that some scribe noticed that *s* for *senex* after *P* for *Pamphile*

had fallen out and inserted it carelessly after the wrong P (ρ). I would read then in our passage :

NOS IAM f. s. p. s. a. an. Ἀπολλόδωρος ‘ὁ μῦθος ἐσμεν Πάμφιλ’  
ἤδη γραῦς γέρων.’<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a somewhat fuller and slightly different treatment of this passage see *Classical Philology*, I, pp. 43-46. I have there given reasons for not accepting παρ’ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ as being contrary to the usual method of citation of Donatus. If παρ’ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ be accepted, the most natural reading would be

μῦθος ἐσμεν ἤδη Πάμφιλε  
γραῦς γέρων

i. e. parts of two trochaic verses, as has been suggested to me by several correspondents after the above article had already reached final page proof (March 15, 1906).

## ON THE ORIGIN OF THE TAUROBOLIUM

BY CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE

AMONG the puzzling problems connected with the rite of taurobolium in the worship of the Magna Mater in the West, not the least interesting is that of the origin of this sacrifice, which apparently was not introduced until more than three hundred years after the arrival of the goddess herself. The earliest mention of a taurobolium is found in an inscription from Puteoli (*CIL.* X, 1596) which records the performance of this rite in honor not of the Magna Mater or Mater Deum, but of Venus Caelesta. Between the years 134 and 390 A.D. we have some ninety-six inscriptions from Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Greece.<sup>1</sup> In every case after the first record just mentioned, the divinity honored is the Great Mother under some one of her common names, except in five inscriptions from Beneventum, where we find the local denomination *Minerva Berecintia* (*Paracentia*, etc.), by which, however, the Magna Mater is certainly meant.<sup>2</sup>

The view as to the origin of this rite at present most in favor is that which Cumont first set forth in the *Revue Archéologique*, XII (1888), pp. 132 ff., and has since repeated and defended in a number of places.<sup>3</sup> According to Cumont the taurobolium belonged originally to the worship of the Persian Anâhita, the Greek Ἀναΐτις, identified with Ἀρτεμις

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<sup>1</sup> The history of the taurobolium is best handled by Zippel, in the *Festschrift Ludwig Friedländer dargebracht*, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 498-520.

<sup>2</sup> That this is no other than the Great Mother is shown abundantly by the epithet *Berecintia* and by her association with Attis in all five inscriptions. There is nothing surprising in this assimilation (in name) of the Phrygian goddess to one of the Capitoline Triad; an exact parallel is found in an inscription discovered near Iconium, *CIL.* III, 13638, Iovi Optimo Ma[xi]m[o] et Minervae Zizi[mmene] ἀπελε[ύ]θερος Φῆλι[ξ] . . . Ζι[μμήνη καὶ Τύχη τ[ῆς πόλεως]. On this association with Τύχη, cf. *CIL.* VII, 759; and on the Zizimene Mother vid. Ramsay's interesting note in the *Classical Review*, XIX (1905), pp. 367 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. de hist. et de litt. relig.* VI (1901), 97 ff.; *Rev. de Philol.* XVII (1893), p. 195 f.; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encycl.* s. v. *Anaitis*; *Textes et Monuments*, I passim.

Ταυροπόλος. It is from this epithet ταυροπόλος and the corresponding noun ταυροπόλιον that he derives the Latin *taurobolium*, which actually has the form *tauropolium* in a number of inscriptions from Gaul and in one from Africa.<sup>1</sup> This explanation, however, has not been universally accepted. While Zippel (*Das Taurobolium, Festschrift Ludwig Friedländer dargebracht*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 519) gives a half consent, Esperandieu (*Les Inscriptions Antiques de Lectoure*, Paris, 1892, pp. 96 ff.) aptly questions the correctness of Cumont's confident assertion, and Hepding (*Attis*, Giessen, 1903, pp. 196 ff., 201) finds himself obliged to reject it; Körte also (*Athen. Mitth.* XXIII (1898), p. 103, n. 1) expresses his doubts. On the other hand no less an authority than Wissowa (in his *Religion u. Kultus d. Römer*, München, 1902, p. 268) is inclined to accept this conjecture. Although one must hesitate to differ from such scholars as Cumont and Wissowa, an examination of the evidence convinced me long since that the former's explanation is unsatisfactory, and since none of those who have doubted Cumont's position has set forth his reasons in detail, I here offer in fuller form that which I presented in summary to the American Archaeological Institute at its meeting in Cambridge in December, 1904.

Obviously Cumont's argument must rest on three identifications: (1) \*Ἀρτεμις Ταυροπόλος with Anâhita; (2) Venus Caelesta at Puteoli with \*Ἀρτεμις Ταυροπόλος; (3) Magna Mater with Venus Caelesta. The third of this series is undoubtedly right, the second as certainly unsupported by evidence, and even if we grant the first, Cumont's conclusions are unwarranted, as I shall show below. It was furthermore incumbent on Cumont to show that bulls were actually sacrificed to Anâhita, that this practice was transferred to the worship of \*Ἀρτεμις Ταυροπόλος, and by her transmitted to the West. This he has never done.

Let us examine briefly the evidence. It was at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. that Artaxerxes introduced the cult of Anâhita

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<sup>1</sup> The derivation of the Latin word may be correct enough, but it has no bearing on the point at issue, as will be shown later. The spelling with *p* is not used in a majority of the inscriptions before the fourth century, as Cumont seems to assert, *Textes et Monuments*, p. 335, n. 1; nor is it the earliest form in the West; and it is practically limited to Gaul. Yet the shifting of two labial mutes is of little importance in this matter.



among the Persians, according to a familiar fragment of Berossus;<sup>1</sup> the spread of her worship over Asia Minor seems to have been rapid. The interpretatio Graeca, however, was usually not Ἄρτεμις Ταυροπόλος, but Ἄρτεμις Περσεΐα (Περσία, Περσική); she is also frequently called by her hellenised name Ἀναΐτις (Ἄναΐτις Ἄρτεμις, Ἄρτεμις Ἀναΐτις), and as such was honored in many places.<sup>2</sup> The identification with Ἄρτεμις Ταυροπόλος is rare and is apparently due to the other identification, which seems not to be older than Euripides, of Ἄρτεμις Ταυροπόλος with the Ταυρικὴ Παρθένος. Many places claimed to possess the idol stolen by Orestes, and it is in such a passage as the following from Strabo, referring to Comana in Cappadocia, that Cumont would find support for his first identification (12, p. 535): τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ ταῦτα δοκεῖ Ὀρέστῃς μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἰφιγενείας κομίσαι δεῦρο ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς Σκυθίας, τὰ τῆς Ταυροπόλου Ἀρτέμιδος, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὴν πένθιμον κόμην ἀποθέσθαι, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τοῦνομα τῇ πόλει. But only a few lines above Strabo says: ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἀντιταύρῳ τούτῳ . . . εἰσὶν αὐλῶνες, ἐν οἷς ἰδρυταὶ τὰ Κόμανα καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἐννοῦς ἱερὸν ἦν ἐκεῖνοι Μᾶ ὀνομάζουσι. This notice shows clearly that in sacred tradition Ἄρτεμις Ταυροπόλος was here identified with Ma, but offers not the slightest proof for the identification with Anâhita. Still less warrant for Cumont's claim can be found in Strabo, p. 537: ἐν τοῖς Κασταβάλοις ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς Περασίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν . . . , κἀνταῦθα δὲ τινες τὴν αὐτὴν θρυλοῦσιν ἱστορίαν τὴν περὶ τοῦ Ὀρέστου καὶ τῆς Ταυροπόλου, Περασίαν κεκληῖσθαι φάσκοντες διὰ τὸ πέραθεν κομισθῆναι. The text itself shows how far-fetched was the identification of this Artemis Perasia with Artemis Tauropolos. Most probably this goddess was a local 'mother' divinity, essentially identical with Ma or the Magna Mater herself. Such texts as these, taken without prejudice, seem to offer little support to Cumont's identification. Yet even if this identification were complete and frequent, it is hard to see how the case would be improved, for we have absolutely no evidence that *bulls* were ever sacrificed to Ἄρτεμις Ταυροπόλος.<sup>3</sup> The gloss of Hesychius: ταυροπό-

<sup>1</sup> Frg. 16 (apud Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 1, 5).

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Ed. Meyer, Roscher's *Lex.* I, s. v. *Anaitis*; Höfer, *ibid.* III, s. v. *Persike*; Cumont, Pauly-Wissowa, I, s. v. *Anaitis*; Wernicke, *ibid.* II, 1380, 1396 f.

<sup>3</sup> According to Paus. 10, 35, 4 cattle were *dedicated* to her at Hyampolis in Phocis, but we are nowhere told that these cattle were sacrificed to her, although such sacri-

λια ἃ εἰς ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν Ἀρτέμιδι, on which Cumont lays much stress, tells us absolutely nothing as to the nature of the rite. But the fatal objection to his view is found in Plutarch's *Vita Luculli*, 24, in which he says that *cows* only, not bulls, were offered to the Persian Artemis (Anâhita): βόες ἱεραὶ νέμονται Περσίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἣν μάλιστα θεῖον οἱ πέραν Εὐφράτου βάρβαροι τιμῶσι· χρῶνται δὲ ταῖς βοῦσι πρὸς θυσίαν μόνον, κτλ. This is the sex which we should expect to be consecrated and offered to a goddess representing the female principle of nature. We may therefore, I think, dismiss Cumont's view as untenable.<sup>1</sup>

Yet we are not forced to confine ourselves to merely destructive criticism, but on the basis of familiar evidence can come, I believe, to a more probable result. Since the sacrifice of a bull formed no part of the worship of the Great Mother in the West before the second century of our era, we obviously must, like Cumont, look upon the taurobolium either as an element of her native worship newly imported from the East or as an element introduced from the cultus of some other divinity. Fortunately the direction in which we are to look seems indicated by a well-known notice in Stephanus of Byzantium, where under the lemma Μάσταιρα we find: ἐκαλείτο δὲ καὶ Ῥέα Μᾶ καὶ ταῦρος αὐτῇ ἐθύετο παρὰ Λυδοῖς ἀφ' ἧς ἡ πόλις. From this then we learn definitely that at least among the Lydians a bull was sacrificed to a 'mother' goddess, Rhea = Ma or Cybele. It is idle to inquire whether this Rhea-Ma be the same as that Ma of Comana on the Saros in Cappadocia whose great shrine and multitude of devotees Strabo describes (p. 535), or whether we have here a local Lydian goddess. That Rhea-Ma and the Great Mother are essentially identical is beyond question, and there is no reason for doubting the evidence of our lexicographer as to the

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fice is probable. Cumont (Pauly-Wissowa, I, s. v. *Anaitis*), referring to Plut. *Vita Luculli* 24, erroneously says that *bulls* (der Stier) were dedicated to her, and that therefore Ἀρτεμὺς Ταυροπόλος was identified with Ἀρτεμὺς Ταυρικὴ. As is shown below, the premise is wrong, and it is well recognized that the identification of the two arose from the influence of the Iphigeneia legend.

<sup>1</sup> It is rather surprising that Cumont has not laid more stress on the direct identification of Anâhita with the Magna Mater, for which abundant evidence can be found — e. g. in inscriptions from Philadelphia and various parts of Maeonia. Vid. Höfer, Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v. *Persike*, Nos. 9 and 11. Not that such emphasis would have improved the case in the face of Plutarch's direct statement, quoted above.

sacrifice of a bull to her. Although in such matters as this it is not allowable to dogmatise on the basis of a single notice, however positive that may be, for myself I prefer, until contradictory evidence appears, to regard the taurobolium as originating in the worship of the Great Mother herself in Asia Minor, and thence transferred to the West at a time when the Asiatic divinities were acquiring an increased importance. This view has the advantage of requiring no forced identifications and of resting on the one piece of positive evidence which we possess. Probably such a sacrifice was widespread, and this conjecture may be supported by the monument in western Phrygia known as Delikli-tasch, described and discussed by Körte, *Athen. Mitth.* XXIII (1898), and by him (pp. 102 ff.) brought into connection with the taurobolium and the criobolium.

There still remains, however, the difficulty mentioned earlier, that the first taurobolium of which we have any record (*CIL.* X, 1596) was offered not to the Great Mother, but to Venus Caelesta, whom Cumont identifies with Ἀρτεμις Ταυροπόλος.<sup>1</sup> Now Venus Caelesta can be no other than the patron divinity of Carthage, Tanith, Dea Caelestis. It is true that as the chief divinity of Carthage she was often called Iuno by the Romans, but also Venus, being a goddess of fertility;<sup>2</sup> finally she was associated with Cybele, if not identified with her, by Tertullian, *Apol.* 12, and by Augustine, *Civ. Dei.* 2, 4, 26. In an interesting inscription from Britain (*CIL.* VII, 759) the syncretism of this Carthaginian divinity with the Great Mother and the Dea Syria is complete.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not so, however, in his article *Caelestis*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* II, but correctly with the Carthaginian Tanith.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. besides our inscription, Val. Max. 2, 6, 15; Firm. Mat. *de errore prof. relig.* 4; *CIL.* V, 8137, 8138; VI, 80, 780; IX, 2562.

<sup>3</sup> Imminet Leoni Virgo caelesti situ  
Spicifera, iusti inventrix, urbium conditrix,  
Ex quis muneribus nosse contigit deos.  
Ergo eadem mater divum, Pax, Virtus, Ceres,  
Dea Syria, lance vitam et iura pensitans.  
In caelo visum Syria sidus edidit  
Libyae colendum; inde cuncti didicimus.  
Ita intellexit numine inductus tuo  
Marcus Caecilius Donatianus, militans  
Tribunus in praefecto dono principis.

Cf. *Harv. Studies*, XI, p. 58 f.

We need not hesitate therefore to see in Venus Caelesta the Great Mother of the Gods; and the provenance of the inscription may make us the readier to grant this point, since Puteoli with the Bay of Naples was one of the two great entry ports of Italy for Oriental cults and practices.

Finally the question arises why it was in the first half of the second century of our era that the taurobolium was imported to the West. The answer is not simple: doubtless many causes contributed. This expansion in the worship of the Magna Mater was only one manifestation of the religious changes of the time. The Roman campaigns in the East during the last century B.C. and Eastern traders had brought a number of Oriental divinities to Italy in whose cults new and appealing elements were found; the literature of the early empire gives here and there clear evidence that these divinities, especially Isis, were gaining ground. Mithras had been known to the West since Pompey's campaigns against the pirates, but his worship first became prominent in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. In the festivals of Magna Mater there was great expansion, apparently under the Antonines,<sup>1</sup> when five new festival days were added to the single one, the *lavatio*, hitherto observed; Attis also became important in this same period. At about the same time Roman citizens began to replace foreigners in the priesthood. What was more natural than that in connection with this growth the custom of sacrificing a bull to the goddess should have been introduced from the East by her devoted worshippers? And we must not overlook the possibility that the cultus of the Magna Mater may have been influenced by that of Mithras, with whom she stood in close relation.

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<sup>1</sup> The earliest mention of any one of these new festivals is found in Tertul. *Apol.* 25, but there can be little doubt that the whole series was added in the second century.



## ASPECTS OF GREEK CONSERVATISM<sup>1</sup>

BY HERBERT WEIR SMYTH

IT has been said that the Greeks created the science of progress. Our appreciation of this dazzling utterance depends on the angle of vision from which we view that elusive but imperious word "progress"; for the term has been so much misused that it is often taken to denote mere increase in magnitude standing in inverse relation to any creative principle; whereas, in strictness, "progress" must refer to the "creation of new ideas," as Sir Henry Maine asserted,—Archimedean levers of thought to move the world.

The essence of progress, as it manifests itself in Greece, lies in the free activity of the creative intelligence and in the desire for knowledge. The highest happiness of the Greek lay in knowing; he was still unconscious of the impotence of speculation in various aspects of knowledge; he was still in that happy state where, in the words of Bacon, *scientia et potentia in idem coincidunt*. Freedom of development and joy in the quest attended the creation of new ideas in literature and science.

Greek literature is the only absolutely original literature of Europe. In a rapid succession of inventive crises nearly every known species of poetry and prose was developed. Greece gave birth to the critical instinct applied to all knowledge and to the desire to compass all knowledge; to the science of theory; to the organization of society into all its various forms; to the philosophy of government and to the dream of an ideal state; to the science of ethics; to the search for the causes of Being; to the analysis of the functions of the mind; to the distinction between mind and matter. In the physical and mathematical sciences imagination achieved results which make modern science in part only a rediscovery or readaptation of Hellenic prevision.<sup>2</sup> The celestial mechanics of the Greeks anticipated in part Copernicus, Galileo,

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is, with some additions, the Annual Address of the President of the American Philological Association for 1905 (December 27, 1905).

<sup>2</sup> A suggestive article on "Greek Anticipations of Modern Science," by Mr. H. S. Williams, will be found in *Harper's Magazine* for November, 1904.

and La Place. The Egyptians made geometry a practical science, the Greeks made it a theoretical science. Pythagoras studied the relation of physics to music and discovered that pitch depends on the length of the vibrating cord. The same thinker, or his scholars, held that the earth, which apparently is immobile, was in a state of motion, that it turned on its own axis, and was a sphere. Empedocles anticipated the science of chemistry in assuming that the elements were limited in number and that their combinations showed qualitative differences and proportional variations. Leucippus proclaimed the universal law of causation; and, in conjunction with Democritus, set forth a monistic conception of the material of the universe, the component atoms of which differed only in size from each other; while their collision with each other as they fell through space engendered a vortex motion. Anaxagoras reasoned that sun, moon, and planets were originally molten masses, and that the moon and earth had cooled to their present state. Aristarchus attempted to calculate the relative size of sun, moon, and earth; and anticipated Copernicus' doctrine of heliocentricity. Hipparchus calculated the distance of the earth from the moon to be equal to fifty-nine radii of the earth (a measurement that is erroneous by less than two radii), and demonstrated that the earth is not in the centre of the track of the sun. Eratosthenes measured the size of the earth with tolerable correctness; and, with greater exactness, the inclination of the earth's axis.

On every hand the Greeks seem always to be adventuring the unknown, forever to be "voyaging through strange seas of thought alone." The fruition of their prerogative of possession of the field was the orderly but rapid conquest of the territory still unsubdued by their intellect. In Hellenic thought there is always a passion for change, for some reaction from national ideals. Even in the late age of Diodorus, that historian complains that the Greeks were always innovating in the cardinal doctrines of philosophy, that they never accepted the results of their predecessors, and with the result that the souls of the learners in philosophy were continually in a state of oscillation. The intensity of Hellenic political life was so feverish that even the writers of the *Federalist* inveighed against its restlessness and turbulence. The existing state of things seemed always the result of some peripetia, and in the paroxysms of political passion of that "whirling nebula of common-

wealths," to use Mackail's phrase, the future was ever uncertain. Political change was in the direction of radicalism: it meant the substitution of one set of dominant ideas for another set of dominant ideas; for the Greeks did not, like the Romans, comprehend the virtue of concession that assumes the form of compromise.

The intellectual physiognomy of the nation could be altered almost in a generation. Thucydides was a younger contemporary of Herodotus, but differs from him as rationalism differs from credulity when it first discovers the righteousness of doubt. Literature and art advanced by leaps and bounds when Athens became the centre of culture. After the Persian wars, as Aristotle tells us, Athens devoted herself to every science with new passion. It is a commonplace of history that no age has witnessed a rapidity of development comparable to that of Athens from the battle of Plataea to the destruction of the Long Walls. The sculptures of Pheidias are scarcely more than half a century later than the pediments of Aegina; within a century from its beginning, tragedy attained to the art of Sophocles, and prose reached the perfection of the Platonic dialogue and the eloquence of Demosthenes. Indeed the speedy decline of several forms of literature was due to the rapid rise of other forms capable of higher artistic cultivation. The very ineffectiveness of much of Greek speculation, the indifference to the relation of fact to hypothesis, was the result of too restless an impulse to formulate ideas. The perpetual fever of progress, the passion for the "enigmas of the mind," begat over-hastiness of generalization in scientific inquiry. The conception of law had not time to ripen into a philosophical view of abstract justice, and the opposition to formulas fostered the confusion of fact with law, because law was spiritualized. Science was itself in some measure a reaction against exuberance of imagination, though in science imagination was too often the surrogate of observation. Hellenism did not subdue the ancient world because of the "excess of its own ideals."

The predominating quality of the Hellenic mind is indeed the capacity to create new ideas, for the Greek spirit is an energy, not a mere achievement, an *ἐνέργεια*, not an *ἔργον*. But I desire to point out that the customary approach to the individuality of that mind is largely by way of contrast to societies of men inimical to progress or to the recognition of the diversity of man's aspirations. We contrast Greece with the



lethargy and formulism of Egypt and Assyria, with the commercial materialism of Phoenicia, or with the spiritual passion of the Hebrew centred upon the god of his fathers. So long as we behold in the Greek race the embodiment of the essence of the Occidental spirit and contrast it with the Orient, we accentuate indeed a vital characteristic of the race, yet at the same time the very extension of our horizon deflects our attention from another mint-mark of the Greek spirit—its conservatism.

Another wider aspect of Hellenism has led to an undervaluation of the conservative tendencies of Greek life and thought. Because the Hellenic ideal as a distinct phase of human thought has entered as a factor of civilization into the modern world, we often regard it as something apart, as the abstract manifestation of the genius of the Greeks, who, it would seem, lived only to create that ideal and did not live for themselves. Apotheosis blurs the lineaments of individual and national physiognomy. Excess, not lack of sympathy, is the peril to which the Philhellene is prone; and his spiritualization of Hellenism may lead him to neglect the corrective ensured by a recognition of all the elements that make Hellenism what it was.

Let us then shift our point of view and inquire how far the forces of conservatism operate in this ferment of creative activity. What are the restrictive influences which moderate the impetus of this inexhaustible vitality? How far is the present oriented by the past?

The conservatism of the Greeks is of necessity a theme less sympathetic and less exhilarating than a study of the varied aspects manifested by their passion for progress. Such a theme may even provoke the hostility of surprise; but for that very reason may well prove suggestive and instructive. I purpose to treat only of the presence in Greek literature of some of the forces regulative and restrictive of the creation of new ideas, forces that modify the full activity of the individual, and in particular, of the sentiment of the past.

Such restrictions are either constant and fixed in national genius, which is the expression of national character as it contends with the limitations of environment; others are ephemeral and disappear with the age or individual.

Apart from the Dorians of Sparta, the Greeks are infinitely more individual than the Romans, who show few men stamped with the



mark of a Cato. From the time of Hippoclides, that delectable person who danced away his marriage by standing on his head to outdo his rival suitors for the hand of Agariste, the Hellene is marked by a vigorous and distinct personality. There is a monstrous egotism in Empedocles, the sophists, Apollonius of Tyana. But in the literature of the classical age the full expression of personality is commonly limited by the collective forces of tradition. The love-lyric of the Aeolians is the most individualistic poetry of Greece; but it was ephemeral. Passion of such intensity consumed itself; and Sappho had no successors.

The study of individualism began with Aristotle. In the jaded Alexandrian age the decline of the city-state, the centralization of power, the spirit of scientific inquiry, the disintegration of a common faith, the antagonism of the creeds, the rise of philosophical asceticism, enforced an individualism that made man more conscious of himself, more impatient of the regulations of society, and the literature of his creation more individual and therefore more modern. But the development of individuality to an extent like that of modern times is unknown in Greece, because Greek life was more institutional than modern life, more subject to the collective restrictions of a national ideal.

The main feature of this ideal, as it manifested itself in the written word, is the fact that literature appealed to the universal, which is not subject to the inroads of chance. The withdrawal from the ephemeral to the permanent is attended by a larger insistence on that which is alien to the idiosyncrasies of temperament and the passing mood, which are the more pronounced in proportion as the area diminishes to which any phase of literature addresses itself. The absorption of the artist into the community made him solicit other minds, made his work appeal to the "greatest common denominator" of a body of listeners who were a necessary condition of his art; the beauty of his work dares not allow so subtle a deftness of the craftsman in words as to withdraw it from the appreciation of a wide commonalty of interest. The universality of Greek literature was gained also by the freedom of recourse to the writings of the past, which were assumed as known to all, and to sentiments which voiced national ideals of life and thought.

We speak indeed of national ideals, though there was no Greek *nation*, no common Hellenic type in art, language, or literature so long as Hellas retained the basic principle of her life — the individuality of

smaller race-units. There was no *national* literature after Homer, and the Homeric epic itself is the joint product of only two tribes, the Aeolic and the Ionic, to the exclusion of the tribe spread over north-west Greece and the Peloponnese. Science only was national in the truest sense, or books like the History of Polybius, who was the first Greek to look on his country with the wider vision of the world made possible by the supremacy of Rome. The desire to compass all human knowledge was unattempted until imagination had lost its potency.

The literature of the classical age is a literature of tribes, of narrower ethnic units, each with its own special endowments supplementing each other; though a certain homogeneousness of subject-matter characterizes all. The very names *Ionian* and *Aeolian* probably had no existence until emigration gave to each tribe the consciousness of individuality. The Greek is bound in the circle of the ideas of his own tribe, narrowed by his sense of opposition to others; and his political and social life is marked by a sense of disassociation or antipathy. Though all Hellenes felt a common bond in their community of blood, language, custom, and religion, there was yet the lacuna of the apprehension that the *will* to unite was the potent factor of nationality.

The origins of the Hellenic tribal differentiation elude analysis by the ethnologist, to whom the Greek people ultimately resolves itself into a fusion of alien races, the primitive settlers, or "Carians," and the later Aryan folk. It is not impossible then that the qualities we call Hellenic are in the last analysis the result of a mingling of blood; and some scholars would father upon the defenceless Carians the Hellenic, but un-Aryan, proneness to the transgression of the lips. Be that as it may, the fact of fusion is not to be discredited; nor is it perhaps idle to remember that the secret of the omniscient psychology of Shakespeare has been sought in the union of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic genius.

In most modern criticism of Hellenism the Ionic-Attic element is regarded as characteristic of the entire race. The Ionians of Asia Minor and the Aegean were apostles of intellectual revolt and intolerant of all limitations of the free development of individuality; but they were also intolerant of sustained exertion. From the Aeolians the Ionians took over the epic, expanded it, recreated it; they originated the elegy and developed it in most of its moods; and iambic verse as the vehicle of satire, and put to wider purposes than satire, is their

creation. The genius of the Ionians is synonymous with progress, but intensity of passion, the tumultuous outpouring of the heart, is foreign to them. Their restlessness under restraint, their impatience of severe symmetry, and their mundaneness (as in the *Homeric Hymns*) made them strangers to that form of lyric which was the concurrent expression of a sense of civic unity and of fervent piety. The solemn elevation and architectonic splendor of the choral ode is alien to native Ionic genius.

The race that first narrowed its sympathies in literature was the first to display the qualities of the Hellenic genius in its highest perfection. War and colonization were throughout the external stimuli of Greek literature; and the Aeolians, upon a vanishing background of immigration and conquest, grouped around the figure of Achilles the myths of their earlier home beyond the sea. The master mind that shaped the nucleus of the *Iliad* is Aeolic. High-strung, chivalrous, dauntless in danger, joyous, meeting life at all points, sensitive and passionate, direct and immediate in its sympathies, yet fond of the sumptuosities of parade—such is the temperament of the race of Alcaeus and Sappho. But so long as the Aeolians formed a distinct political aggregation they displayed an almost total atrophy of interest in everything remote to their immediate environment. There is no Aeolic history, no Aeolic eloquence, no Aeolic philosophy. Athens had become the one *πόλις* of the Greek world, science had coördinated Greek thought, when the market woman at Athens still could recognize by his accent alone the un-Attic origin of the successor of Aristotle in the Lyceum.

Between Aeolian and Ionian there is a certain degree of sensuous kinship, as their speech is to a certain degree akin. To them stands opposed the Dorian with his inborn conservatism in morals, politics, literature, and religion. Not unsusceptible indeed to the tale of the Achaean Agamemnon, whom they annexed as a national hero, the Dorians had no part in the expansion of the epic, from which they were excluded by the very fact that they were Dorians. Nor had they the capacity to supplement Homer's picture of an idealized humanity. To the insurgent impulse of the lyric poet, whose verse pulsates with the passion of living, the Dorian was a stranger. The reflective attitude of Dorian thought did not allow to the individual larger scope than to record the vicissitudes of fortune that scarred the life of Theognis.



Incurious of the theoretical organization of political institutions and of the relations of cause and effect, fixed in his statical system, the Doric race in southern Greece contributed nothing to the art of history save the short and simple annals of his native canton. Music was an art cultivated in the service of the state, but the staff of the presiding officer restrained an applause that had voiced approval of any modification of traditional forms. The lately discovered papyrus of Timotheus shows that poet triumphant over the bitter hostility of Sparta to richer and more expressive music. The ruthless ephor used the argument of the knife in reducing to the proper number of strings the cithara of Timotheus' famous predecessor, Phrynis. At Argos death was the penalty for the musician who might venture to employ an instrument with more strings than the fathers had used. Then, too, in Dorian lands narrowness in methods of literary training—the undue preference for oral teaching as opposed to the use of writing—prevented the diffusion of culture beyond the circle of those who came under the immediate influence of the schools.

The large enthusiasm of the modern world for Greece is evoked by Greek life and art as a *whole*. The sympathy that prompts that enthusiasm is indeed just, but so far as a major part of the Greeks, the Dorians of the mainland, is concerned, it must seek its inspiration in the solemn and simple grandeur of Doric architecture, in Doric work in marble and bronze, and in the qualities of men trained to duty and to self-repression by the harshest form of militarism known to antiquity.

In literature, as the expression of the imaginative faculty, the Dorian is impassive. Sparta was the nurse, not the mother, of poets, and if we may believe tradition, it was only under the stress of public calamity that Sparta sought abroad what she did not engender at home—the wisdom of the poet to tranquillize the unruly temper of a discordant state. Elsewhere a rude joviality begat the beginnings of comedy, but Dorian comedy, like Dorian tragedy, was soon transferred to higher purposes by a people of Ionic stock. Only that form of poetry which voiced the formal cult of the gods found a reception in a state that absorbed completely the individuality of the citizen. Pindar boasts his kinship with the Dorian aristocracy, but Pindar was after all a Boeotian, native of a land where the blood of the sluggish Dorian was mingled with that of the more imaginative Aeolian.



Of prose, as a fine art, the Peloponnesian was incapable, but the intellectual quality of the Dorian race was not without fruit in speculation concerning number, measure, and mathematics. In the *κόσμος* of Pythagoras has been found the ideal of the Dorian state, which Attic thinkers came to regard as the model for the regeneration of their own fierce ochlocracy.

The current view of the Dorian character is open to objection in part because it extends to all the inhabitants of the Peloponnese the qualities of the dominant Spartans; whereas, in fact, the Megarians and Cretans were traders and sailors; the Corinthians gave themselves over to pleasure and commercialism; and the democracy of Argos was a menace to the dominion of the Spartan system. The Dorian states in Sicily were freed from many of the prejudices of the home country, and the result of their peculiar physiographic and social conditions was a free expansion of artistic sympathies, the cultivation of eloquence and of historical composition.

The immobile Peloponnesian Dorians are from some points of view a blot on the Hellenic scutcheon, and there seems good ground for the hypothesis of an original cleavage between them and the Hellenes who immigrated from the Balkan peninsula by the eastern route. Comparative philology has abandoned a Graeco-Italic unity; comparative ethnology may have to reckon with a Doro-Italic unity. The division of the Dorians and Latins into three tribes, the parallelism of *γερονσία* and *senatus*, the predominance in both nations of the magistrates over the people, their common practical and religious sense, their common exaltation of the authority of the state which is rooted in veneration for the sanctity of law, their common gravity and indomitableness, all these are factors that, with a greater or less degree of probability, point to prehistoric kinship between the Dorian and Latin races.

Early Greek literature is thus particularistic in many respects because of the limitations of tribal capacity, limitations that are inherent rather than self-imposed, as is commonly maintained. The progress of the race is attained by a series of complementary advances on the part of the several race-units, which were able to create, in rapid succession, literary types that in a primitive people assumed definite outlines, — types that are organic and shaped to artistic purposes as it were by the cogeny of a natural law.

Special forms of Greek literature originating in one tribe rarely reach perfection in that tribe, and commonly migrate to the Athenians, who alone were able both to absorb and to recreate almost every species of literature not of indigenous growth. A fact, often forgotten, is that a form of Greek literary art, when it has once passed into alien territory, is rarely reacquired by its originators and never then transformed to higher values. Thus the renewal of the epic by its Aeolic creators was an attempt to give to other sagas, equally a part of the Trojan cycle, the amplitude that constitutes one feature of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; but to the neglect of that virtue of the Homeric economy which lies in the restriction of the theme, in the creation of the unity of a moral situation. What holds true of Arctinus and Lesches, holds true also of Ctesias.

The types of Greek literature are conditioned also by prescriptions of *form* which kept the poet in permanent contact with the past. There is no more striking external difference between Greek and modern poetry than the limitations of language imposed on the ancient craftsman in words. To the Greek, matter and form are linked by a law as natural as is the freedom or even the caprice of modern literature. Nothing is more opposed to our ideas of the liberty of Greek art, nothing is more opposed to our ideas of aesthetic beauty, than the control exercised by the language of the originators of any literary type over all forms of poetry whose implicit ethos confessed allegiance to that literary type. The Greek poet was bound by an artistic convention which implicitly marked the continuity of kindred literary types; he felt himself possessed of a heritage bequeathed to him by the members of his guild who preceded him by even a thousand years. All Greek poetry is thus marked by a peculiar attitude of loyalty to the past. All Greek poetry, except such lyrics as those of Sappho, is artificial in that it does not reflect exclusively the idiom of the soil. There is no Greek language symbolizing a unity of national impulses until Greece lost its liberty. The tendency to cohesion first manifested in the political and philosophical reflection of the fourth century was consummated by the arms of Alexander.

To the restrictive influences exerted by the tribal aggregate upon literary types and upon language, there is added a further restriction that concerns the individual alone; a restriction that distinguishes the classical from the Alexandrian age. For the Alexandrian age broke

down the barriers confining the man of letters to a distinct sphere. It is, as it were, in compensation for the limitation of his activity as a political being that the age of the Ptolemies widened the area of man's literary activity. Callimachus shows by his *Hecale* and his epigrams that he is no mean poet; he was also an erudite scholar and a critic of no mean rank. The fame of Eratosthenes is indissolubly associated with geometry and chronology; yet he was also poet, philosopher, and philologist: a quinquepartite polymath with the nickname of the "pentathlete." All the librarians of the Museum were, in fact, poets until the narrowing influence of grammar put an end, with Aristarchus, to their wooing of the Muse. They are all intellectual descendants of Aristotle, first of the Alexandrians, though last of the classics.

"Human nature," says the teacher of Aristotle, "seems to be incapable of imitating many things well." The effectiveness of Greek literature is, in part, the result of concentration of energy upon a series of single artistic purposes. Within the province of his art the Greek of the classical age, working under the restrictions of literary types, held in check the impulse to do *many* things well. Until Euripides the Greeks were not absentees from practical life, which afforded them, unlike the Alexandrian scholars, some compensation for their restriction to one sphere of literary activity; though Sophocles, when in command before Samos, must have felt something of the same surprise with which, I fancy, an American man of letters first views himself when he wakes up to find himself a minister plenipotentiary. There are indeed exceptions; mysticism and mathematics meet in Pythagoras, for the warfare between science and theology was not universally imperative; Empedocles was at once poet, seer, fanatic, physicist, biologist, sanitary engineer; and flung aside the ambition of kingly power. But the poet does not encroach upon the field of his brother artist in prose, and Ion of Chios presents an anomaly in being alike a writer of tragedy, lyric, historical memoirs, and philosophy; while the sportive intermingling of prose and verse was an audacity reserved for the much later Menippus. Aristotle tried his hand at poetry, like Schelling and Hegel. The writer of prose, as the tragic poet, may turn an epigram on occasion, but the epigram was often a mere metrical trick, and it was patient with mediocrity; and therefore persisted in constant use for more than two thousand years.



In general, however, the law holds good : there is no intrusion into alien fields. There were no Lessings or Schillers or Wordsworths or Laniers to unite criticism of poetry with poetry itself. The Greek dramatist was by virtue of his art a lyrist as well, but this fact, and the history of the evolution of the Greek drama, give no support to the fancy that a lyric poet is only an undeveloped dramatist. Pindar and Bacchylides are contemporaries of Aeschylus, and neither attempted the drama ; they are not embryonic dramaturgists. The tragic and the comic drama are mutually exclusive ; and it is only after the other guests had succumbed to their worship of Dionysus at the Great Banquet that Socrates compelled the drowsy Aristophanes and Agathon to agree with him that the genius of tragedy and comedy were one. But the sober realities of waking hours uninspired by the patron god of both arts incited neither the sovereign comic artist nor the tragic poet, whose *Flower* was the greatest of ancient dramatic innovations, to encroach on each other's territory, and thus to put into practice a theory that has been left for modern times to realize.

The restrictions and conservatisms we have been considering constitute only a fraction of the whole. On every hand we encounter traces of this devotion to tradition that are not remarkable in their isolation, but surprising by reason of their persistence in a society so imbued with the spirit of change. Greek philosophy was intolerant of immobility and of repression ; yet dissent from the letter of the teachings of Epicurus was regarded as impiety ; and that, though Epicureanism is a more genuinely Greek philosophy than its great rival Stoicism, which bears the mark of a founder of Semitic stock in its indifference to everything except the good. We think of Greek plastic art as hostile to strict regulations imposed by *taste* (for which the Greeks had no strictly corresponding word) ; yet there is the "canon" of Polyclitus. Or take the conservatism manifested in the tardy use of writing, due in part to a meticulous distrust of symbols and to preference for the spoken word ; in part also to the fact that the Greeks had an absorbing interest in legends preserved orally and essentially more valuable than contemporaneous events which admitted of immediate recording. This hesitation to make use of writing, as Dr. Butcher has shown,<sup>1</sup> kept the laws

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<sup>1</sup> *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, pp. 166 ff.



long unwritten and delayed the birth of formal history. Then, too, there is the marked opposition of the language to the importation of foreign words.

The aspects of Greek conservatism are too numerous not to show that, with all the rapidity of the advance of ideas, the masses were static. On every hand we meet with the crudest contrasts. The idealistic dreams of Plato, the subtleties of the ontology of Aristotle, coexist with the superstitions of the sanatorium at Epidaurus. In religion, antitheses are not strange; philosophy had disintegrated the traditionary faith, but Athens still had her state-seer in the age of rationalism; still removed from her territory any inanimate object which had been the instrument of death; and, from a like scruple, still forbade that an exile for involuntary homicide, who had been accused of another murder, should be tried on the new charge except in a boat while the jury of the ephetae pronounced judgment from the inviolable shore. Athens still retained the archaic owl-emblem on her coins when the mints of Syracuse were issuing the exquisite floating Victories that challenge our admiration to-day. In vase painting also the old forms held ground, but were employed for purposes of embellishment and to fill out space. In costume, the influence of the Persian wars, otherwise so stimulative of progress, started a reaction against the garb that indicated too strongly the malign influence of Asia. There was not a little stereotyped symbolism in the use of gesture. Until Lucian's time neither unheroic sentiment nor unheroic action seem to have rendered incongruous the superhuman trappings of the tragic actor. In language, words exercised a tyranny not less imperious than they do to-day. Not until Eratosthenes was any authoritative voice heard reprehending the inhumanity in the traditional conception of *βάρβαρος*, which had, till his time, with partial or sentimental protest only, conveyed the idea of a difference between men not merely in degree but in kind. It was Aristotle who advised Alexander to treat the Greeks as friends, but the barbarians as enemies, and who justified the maltreatment of the latter on the ground that they were incapable of self-government. Eratosthenes distinguished mankind according to their virtues and their vices.

Some of these conventions are trivialities, akin to those found in every society that safeguards its past, conventions that leave no mark upon literature. But literature itself is permeated by conventionalisms.

The sententious utterance which packs into few words the collective wisdom of an age is, in its primitive form, contemporaneous with the rudest stages of thought. In the sixth century B.C., the century of antitheses, when the traditionary beliefs were first readjusting themselves to the new speculation, the expansion of gnomic wisdom is not a retrogression to the age of Hesiod : it is part of the profounder attitude towards the inner and the outer life. But in the age of enlightenment, when the piecemeal logic of the maxim ceased to carry enough of truth to contain the greater complexity of ethics, it still dominated literature. The Greeks possessed the gnomic gift ; their social ethics as regards the gnome would not have satisfied Lord Chesterfield ; but they were not men who appeased their souls by aphorisms, nor did they reduce every phase of life to the terrors of a truism ; nevertheless what had once been a brilliant moral aperçu they retained in oratory and the drama in part as a foil against obsolescent ideas, in part also as a pure conventionalism ; just as much of their pessimism is mere literary veneer.

The latest and most perfect form of Greek poetry, the drama, is full of external and internal conventions that in large measure determine its character. We think at once of the constant presence of the chorus on the stage which necessitates the closest interrelation of the parts ; of the limitation of the number of the actors which restricts the variety of the scenes ; of the avoidance of actual murder (though not of acts of violence) because the theatre was sacred ground ; of the sheer restriction of the theme which, except in the case of the parts of a trilogy following each other in immediate succession, prevented the complete portrayal of the transformation of character as it crystallized into will under the pressure of fate or of the conflict of duty and desire. The unrepresented antecedents of a tragedy constitute so large a feature that the play itself resembles only the climax of a modern drama. Then, too, as Mr. Brander Matthews has shown, the dramaturgist was not independent of the actor. Hamlet was no doubt "fat and scant of breath" because Burbage was waxing fat. Cleander was the favorite actor of Aeschylus ; tradition expressly reports that Sophocles wrote with Tlepolemus in mind ; the monodies of Euripides clearly owe their prominence to the vogue of certain virtuosos ; and Aristotle expressly says that good poets composed "episodic" plots to please the actors.

Above all, invention was under bonds to tradition and to myth, which is not the same thing as tradition. But *μῦθος* was vivified by *διάθεσις*. The framework was permanent; originality clothed the skeleton with flesh. Into this Frankenstein the poet put his own soul. Living and working in the myth, he shaped details to the exigencies of his imagination, fashioned his dramatic personages to different psychological values. But the freedom of individual conception was invaded by the law of his art, which made constant the actors in the struggle of antagonistic forces.

And because of the inevitableness of the tragic personages, the end was constant. The dramaturgist might voice the changing aspirations of each age with its deepening intellectual and moral ideals, he might subtilize the lineaments of moral physiognomy; his very range might be wider than that of the modern playwright in whom the one passion of love "eats out the rest"; he might attain variety by creating different aspects of the same traditionary character—yet his theme was set by religious prescription, and it moved steadily towards a fore-ordained end. Because that end was known in advance, the poet relied in large measure on what stands "outside the drama," and did not depict, with the nice precision of Shakespeare, the march to the end; nor did he make the conclusion evolve itself with inevitable cogency from the details of the scene he stages.

Because the end is predetermined, it is lame in comparison to the peripetia, lame in comparison with many modern dramas; though something may be said to show that the greatest works of literature show an ultimate relaxation of intensity and subsidence of emotion. However that may be, I am concerned here only with the larger aspects of the question, with the fact that the fate of Greek tragic art is involved in the permanence of the same *dramatis personae*. The doers of tragic deeds remained the same because of the similarity of the legends most appropriate for tragic representation, legends which ultimately were confined to the story of a few houses. This danger of similarity of theme is common to literature and to painting; as Leonardo da Vinci says in his *Trattato della pittura*: "a face, motion, or an entire figure, must not be repeated in another . . . picture." And yet all the three great Attic dramatists dealt with the story of Oedipus, Philoctetes, Ixion, Palamedes, and Telephus. The heroes of Aeschylus and Sophocles are



distinguished by majesty of soul and of station; in Euripides they preserve only the trappings of their heroic estate. Bereft of their nobility through rationalization, they shrink to the stature of common men with the complex impulses of common life; but their deeds are fixed by tradition and the doers have a religious inevitableness. Orestes and Electra must still wear the guise of princely national figures; and so the heroes of the Border ballads kept on fighting after they had been cut in pieces.

No people had a more distinctly national art than did the Greeks in their tragic drama; but the very nationality of that art, because it was rooted in the past, was its undoing. It was the sentiment of the past that prevented the Greeks from utilizing the fruitful motive of Agathon's *Flower*, the caprice of ancient tragic art, the one drama in which all the personages and incidents were fictitious.

Οἷαν τὰν ὑάκινθον ἐν ὄρρεσι ποίμενες ἄνδρες  
πόσσι καταστείβοισι, χάμαι δέ τε πόρφυρον ἄνθος. . . .

Contemporaneous history had been tried as a *motif* in an earlier period of the evolution of the drama, but it was abandoned as less effective than the traditional myth. The ill success of Phrynichus' *Capture of Miletus* was not due, it will be remembered, to the fact that it dealt with a recent event as such.

Agathon was the first of the moderns, but his innovation (notwithstanding it possessed an excellence that gained Aristotle's approbation) remained undeveloped, not only because of the pressure of adverse opinion exerted by his greater contemporaries, but also because the removal of all traditionary figures would have resulted in the disintegration of the spirit that linked tragedy with the past. The successors of the Tragic Three were Hellenic Levites, guardians of the heroic ark, and their conservatism, enforcing a religious convention, of which it was an expression, crippled all effective progress. Dramatic invention found an outlet in the Platonic dialogue and in a realistic comedy that was under no bonds to an over-exacting past. For six centuries the tragedies of the three great Attic masters held the stage not only because of their intrinsic excellence, but also because there was no fruitful progress in the art. Tragedy was devitalized by its refusal to abandon a subject-matter that voiced with authority the sentiment of the past.



Tragedy and lyric, and the epic as well, owed much of their enduring value in the estimation of the Greeks to their expression of veneration for the past. And yet the Egyptian priest, the exponent of an immemorial antiquity, said "Solon, you Greeks are always children." Goethe bade us look upon the ancients as children, and another no less sympathetic worshipper of Hellas has said that the Greeks had no past. Measured by the sense of age that has come upon the modern world, the Greeks represent to us an immortal and irrecoverable adolescence. Yet to themselves the past was forever present; they lived for the reintegration, not for the disintegration, of the forces consecrating their traditions; and no people has so indelibly wrought into a literature so inexhaustibly young such large collective sympathies with the past. Greece, too, had its Mayflower motive; the foundation of cities had been a theme of poets long before it became the theme of civic genealogists. The Olympic victor who has attained the summit of human felicity, as he listened to Pindar's triumphal ode, lost himself in his heroic counterpart; the spectator as he sat crowded against his neighbor in the Dionysiac theatre beheld, in mythic semblance of his greater self, the traditional heroes of his race move in awful majesty to their self-wrought doom. Then, too, the continuity of the past was upheld at Athens by the survival of families not superior before the law, but still retaining social prestige by reason of their place in the Olympian and heroic peerage. The line of Neleus still lived in the Alcmeonidae, and the *Ajax* no doubt was witnessed by Philaïdae who traced their descent through the son of Telamon back to Zeus himself. The petty conflicts of common life, its graver disharmonies, the impulses that incite to ambition and vengeance, the intensities of a cantonal life which effected an over-rapid translation of thought into action—all the aspects of the drama of life were ennobled, when, by the visualizing power of art, they were transferred to the mythical world and embodied in actors divine and of the seed of gods. The best known fables were known only to the few, but, despite this significant (and often neglected) remark of Aristotle, the majority of spectators of the tragic contests was well aware that the play was to deal with the ancestry of the race. With each returning spring the Athenian knew that at the Dionysiac festival he might again behold, in the full splendor and authority of the present, Agamemnon king of men, Priam bereft of so

many goodly sons, Helen, whose invincible beauty was the spring of desolation, the gods themselves, not mere wraiths, but fashioned into living forms and speaking a language worthy of their high estate.

The vision of the poet is immediate in proportion to its imaginative quality. Yet in this fictive world of tragedy, where imagination has freest scope, as in every other form of literature, these Greeks, who are possessed by the passion for innovation, restrict the impulse to originality. In motive, scene, and phraseology the Greeks are possessed by the passion for imitation; and their literature is unique in the coextension of spontaneity with a "commemorative instinct" that links its various forms by a chain of associative reminiscence. ἕτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου σοφός. Every poet of Greece is a conscious bondsman to the past.

Thus Euripides borrows less from Homer than either Aeschylus or Sophocles, but appropriates about the same number of phrases from Aeschylus as from Sophocles. In the beginning he borrows from Sophocles, then he is himself, next he turns to Aeschylus, finally he borrows least from others and from himself.<sup>1</sup> One form of this indebtedness appears in the fact that Euripides in one of his earlier plays takes over a verse from Aeschylus, which, by unconscious appropriation, reappears as a self-iteration in a play otherwise free from borrowed phrases. Sophocles' chief debt to Euripides appears in the later plays, the *Trachiniae* and the *Philoctetes*. But apart from such details, it is significant that when the breach with the past is more radical as regards the spirit and temper of tragedy, then it is that the recourse to the earlier and loftier type is more pronounced. So Virgil's debt to Homer is more marked when the situation affords him less opportunity to give effect to his capacity for emotion.

It is impossible to assign distinct psychological values to all the cases of alienation, and to mark off what was unconscious, subconscious, or conscious.<sup>2</sup> Some part was conscious though unacknowledged, voluntary retention of phrases that had crystallized into popularity through the aid of rhythm, antithesis, or by reason of other felicitousness; e. g.

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<sup>1</sup> See Schroeder, *De iteratis apud tragicos Graecos* in *Dissert. Philol. Argent.* VI (1882), 1-130.

<sup>2</sup> See the important papers on unconscious iteration and associated reminiscence by Mr. A. B. Cook in the *Classical Review*, Vols. XV and XVI.

the proëmia, transitions, and endings in the orators, or the recurring turns of common speech that have taken sanctuary in Euripides. The roving eye of the poet was always on the search for vagabond beauties. Similarity of situation often brought with it similarity of expression that had lain dormant in the memory until the advent of the inventive moment. Like the spear of the Homeric warrior, a tragic situation in a master poet cast a long shadow. There is no more splendid testimony to the contemporary fame of the *Oresteia* than Sophocles' imitation in the *Electra*, where Clytaemnestra, on receiving her death blow at the hands of her son, exclaims ὦμοι πέπληγμαι and then ὦμοι μάλ' αὖθις. What spectator would not recall the death-cry of Agamemnon, stabbed by his adulterous queen?

ὦμοι πέπληγμαι καιρίαν πληγὴν ἔσω.  
ὦμοι μάλ' αὖθις δευτέραν πεπληγμένος.

The very words echo the unchanging law of retaliation. Euripides has nothing of the sort. When his imitation is intended, it is apt to veil an objection (*Bacchae* 193 = Soph. frag. 633), or it may endeavor, by variation in the language, to outdo his model (*Phoen.* 870 = Soph. *O. C.* 552). The latter purpose is not unknown in Sophocles.

κακφυσιῶν ὀξείαν αἵματος σφαγὴν  
βάλλει μὲν ἑρεμνῇ ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσου (*Agam.* 1398 ff.)

καὶ φυσιῶν ὀξείαν ἐκβάλλει ῥοὴν  
λευκῇ παρειᾷ φοινίου σταλάγματος (*Antig.* 1238 ff.).

Somewhat similar is the relation of Bacchylides to Pindar. The Cean poet has twenty-nine compound adjectives found in Pindar in the same form, but twenty-eight showing a slight difference in the first or second member. The borrowing may not be altogether on the side of Bacchylides.

But I may not enter upon the details of literary reminiscence. Let me only point out the reasonableness of the view that there is a difference between lyric and tragic poetry on the one hand and epic poetry and oratory on the other. Only the epic poet and the orator repeat outright passages that have been used before, because both appeal directly to their hearers, because the art of both is essentially



ephemeral.<sup>1</sup> Homer, called the first and greatest of the orators by Hermogenes, took no thought of the festivals at which his lays were to be recited for generations; his sole aim was to enthrall his audience with the tale of far-off days of battle-din or of wandering on the sea. Demosthenes had no other purpose than to exhaust his utmost skill to gain the votes of jury or ecclesia; publication after the battle had only the value of a *pièce justificative*; he was untroubled whether or not future generations would be equally convinced with his present audience. Both Homer and Demosthenes are for the moment impatient of the labor involved in the sustained independence of originality, because both have a single and an immediate aim. But Pindar looks to immortality; and Aeschylus dedicated his tragedies to Time. With oratory, at least, it may hold true that repetitions decrease in quantity in proportion as the aesthetic, and not the practical, sense is gratified. What is merely auxiliary to Demosthenes' purpose (if I may call auxiliary that interfusion of reason and passion that makes his style), what is merely subsidiary, becomes to later generations the abiding charm.

But with regard to the point at issue — the voluntary renunciation of independence, the limitation of the creative faculty — how are we to account for the pervasive reminiscences of Greek literature? My feeling is that we strain Greek idealism in seeking an explanation for plagiarized phrases in the Greek sentiment that “a thing can be well said once, but cannot be well said twice” (τὸ καλῶς εἰπεῖν ἅπαξ περιγίγνεται, δις δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται); or because, to quote the words of the late Professor Jebb, that I may preserve the elegant finish that characterized his every utterance, “if a thought, however trivial, has been once perfectly expressed, it has, by that expression, become a morsel of the world's wealth of beauty.”<sup>2</sup>

I venture to believe that reminiscent phraseology in Greek is, at least, less the expression of an inevitable perpetuity of artistic perfection in each single detail than an illustration of that imitative character of

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<sup>1</sup> The identity of the concluding verses of several plays of Euripides is exceptional in the drama, as is shown by Mr. Cook, to whom I owe the substance of the distinction made in the text.

<sup>2</sup> The maxim δις καὶ τρίς τὸ καλόν, which goes back to Empedocles (frag. 25), justified a recurrence to the same theme, not to the same words.



Greek literature as a whole which is a result of the superlative advantage possessed by that literature—the priority of its masterpiece. For the best came first. It is the reverential regard for Homer that made language courtesy to its sovereign; it is again the sentiment of the past rather than the intrinsic superiority of each particular phrase that prompted recourse to the epic. “Imagination was forever haunted by the types of humanity established in clear outline by Homer.” Homer was the “captain and teacher of the charming tragic company,” said Plato; and Homer had the power of continually adjusting himself to the spirit of each successive age. His words lent themselves to every exigency of life. When Hierocles, the philosopher of Alexandria, flung drops of his blood into the face of the judge by whose orders he had been scourged, he exclaimed :

Κύκλωψ, τῇ, πῖε οἶνον, ἐπεὶ φάγες ἀνδρόμεα κρέα.

From the time when Arctinus knit his tale to the *Iliad* down to the time of the last singer of the *Anthology*, Homer remained the *largo fume* from whom poet after poet drew both theme and phrase. The tragic poet of greatest imaginative sweep acknowledged that his dramas were crumbs from the table of Homer (thereby including all that was attributed to Homer); and yet Aeschylus drew only ten subjects for his plays from the epic, while Sophocles, the “tragic Homer,” drew thirty-two. The language of Parmenides and Empedocles is largely epic, and the quality of their scientific imagination is not alien to the quality of the imagination of poetry; the birth of artistic prose is the result of the transformation of the ruder annals of the logographers under the influence of Homer. On every hand Homer dominated the language of his successors; recourse to his vocabulary even preserved the language from decay; and his old-time words, the *verba antiqua et sonantia*, were retained even at the cost of intelligibility.

Through the influence of Homer, then, imitation became organic and literary reminiscence inherent in Greek literature. As far back as we can see, with all his zest for new forms of thought, the Greek lived in an atmosphere of associative reminiscence with the poet who had first seized hold of the essential verities of life. Granting all we may to the common instinct to plagiarize, granting all we may to the different

standard of literary behavior on the part of the ancients;<sup>1</sup> and realizing that that most delicate of virtues, gratitude, was never the strong point of the Greeks in literature or in life; there still remains something about Greek literary reminiscence that does not flavor of the *brutalité* of sheer plagiarism. With all our insistence on novelty (despite La Bruyère's complaint that everything has been said), it would almost seem that plagiarism, in poetry at least, is a pardonable offence to-day so long as the pillaged does not use the same tongue as the pillager. (Molière's confession "qu'il a pris son bien où il l'a trouvé" refers to subject-matter rather than to phraseology.) The intellectual chauvinism of the Greeks did not lead them to commit the venial offence even in the period when the fountain of wisdom flowed through books (ἡ σοφίας πηγὴ διὰ βιβλίων ῥέει). The Romans were the first people to go afield in literature, to learn of others; the Greeks carried the tradition of their own past. The real offence in the Roman age is that the Greeks did not make their own what they purloined from their ancestors. It is safer to melt stolen silver than to set it before one's guests with the accusing monogram of the owner still upon it.

The attitude of the Athenians towards plagiarism in the drama is in one respect not unlike that of the Elizabethans, apart from the difference that the latter had no English Homer as a common point of departure. Both demanded embellishment, be it native or imported. I take it that an audience in the Dionysiac theatre, as in the Globe theatre under Queen Elizabeth, manifested a certain passivity in the face of patent purloining in tragedy. Neither would ask the question that is asked by a speaker in Diphilus: "whose verses *are* these?" It was the play rather than the writer of the play that excited the keener interest. The Greek tragedians, unlike the Elizabethans, had a splendid heritage in their own tongue; and their sensitiveness to the charm of familiarity

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<sup>1</sup> There is an interesting personal confession made by Isocrates (*Philippus* 93) to the effect that though by reason of advanced age he had repeated in that oration a sentence of some length from the *Panegyricus* (147) written about forty years before, he felt justified in so doing because others had plundered from him; "but," he adds, "I would not appropriate what belonged to another, as I have not done in the past." The latter statement is best explained as a lapse of memory in a man over ninety years of age. (In earlier years Isocrates had attacked the Sophists for using language that had lost its serviceableness because it had already been employed.)

in antique associations and their tolerance of old-time phraseology prompted a readier acquiescence in embellishment derived from contemporary sources.

In the classical writers quotation that is actually or virtually acknowledged has in general the same value in Greek as in English. It serves to embellish, to reinforce.<sup>1</sup> But apart from this normal type, direct quotation sometimes gives expression to the conscious sentiment of the past. In the classical writers this is almost unknown until the fourth century, where it is at once a stylistic ornament natural to that age of refinement, but at the same time a symptom of the disease of the times. As Athens draws near the close of her free life, her statesmen behold in the age of Solon and Aristides an ideal of justice not realized in the cruel distemper of their own age. Lycurgus, Aeschines, and Demosthenes enforce their appeals by quotations from Hesiod, Tyrtaeus, and Solon. Literature itself shows that the Hellenes had behind them the age when the vigor of the state needed no aesthetic reinforcement from the past, and were approaching the time when the Macedonian conquest was to make memory their only alleviation. As in victory, so by defeat, Greece came to a profounder consciousness of herself; in the long vistas of recollection she saw only the glory that had been hers, a glory that was no mean compensation for the loss of freedom to the masters of the world. Plutarch is the incarnation of this reverential regard for the splendid heritage of the province of Achaea.

But, to my thinking, there is no fundamental difference even in that most pronounced of antitheses — the antithesis between the age of progress and the age when the vital forces of creation had spent themselves. The expressions of the Hellenic mind show in the last analysis an organic resemblance to each other that is more intimate than that which unites the Hellene and the non-Hellene. Contrasts only emphasize the indestructibility of the Greek spirit.

In the Greek decadence we are wont to see only a corrosion of spirit, a fetichism of artificialities, and acquiescence in stereotyped forms. The poet loses his touch with life and has (as Bergk said) to carry the weight

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<sup>1</sup> Plato appeals to the poets much as we do. He quotes the dramatists only twice where he gives their exact language; but Hesiod at least eleven times, and Homer on one hundred and sixteen occasions. See Professor Howes' article in *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI.



of tradition like the historian. His passion is a *trompe l'oeil*. An "exposition of sleep" seems to have fallen upon literature as upon Bottom in *Midsummer Night's Dream*. And yet there are spasmodic incursions into the field of originality that temper the poignancy of regret. Amidst the trappings of parade there are still some pearls of Coromandel.

The attainment of elevation is the aim of style in the Roman age — elevation secured by imitation and emulation. Longinus himself would have us recognize that the methods of literary workmanship in his time were not radically alien from those of the classical writers. "This proceeding," he says, "is not plagiarism; it is like taking an impression from beautiful forms or figures or other works of art . . . and it seems to me that there would not have been so fine a bloom of perfection on Plato's philosophical doctrines and that he would not in many cases have found his way to poetical subject-matter unless he had . . . struggled with Homer for the primacy . . . for Plato or Demosthenes . . . inflaming our ardour and, as it were, illumining our path, will carry our minds in a mysterious way to the higher standards of sublimity which are imaged within us."<sup>1</sup>

In truth the imitative character of later Greek literature is only another, but profounder, aspect of that supremacy of tradition which plays so large a rôle in the freer life of the fertile period; and as in the most original writers of that period, we hear continually the echoes of the past, so in the age when the Greeks first became *classics*, these same voices echo — only with such frequency that we feel that the later Greek, almost like Wordsworth's boy, found "his whole vocation in endless imitation"; or, as he surveyed the past, could anticipate the thought of the French poet:

Qui dois j'imiter pour devenir un génie?

To that absorption in the past we owe, amidst the aridities of Sophistry and the rigidities of Atticism, those sensations of relief when we meet

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<sup>1</sup> [Longinus] *On the Sublime*, 13, 4; 14, 1; translation by Professor Rhys Roberts. Dr. Verrall has recently (*Class. Rev.* XIX, 202) called attention to the limitations of Longinus as a critic in ignoring the fact that literary association often prompted the choice of some peculiar locution in the classical writers which appeared frigid to later generations.



some familiar passage that has found a new abiding place. We are like Sancho Panza with the difference that, whereas that genial squire found it "pleasant to go about in expectation of adventures," we find it pleasant to read on in expectation of recollections of those authors who have fed our minds in youth and age. Our pleasure, too, is akin to that of Byron in painting—"the pleasure of being reminded of something we have seen or of something we shall see."

As the perceptiveness of the imagination declined, as the passion for progress waned except in science, as the power of the will stagnated and lassitude enfeebled the mind because everything seemed to have been said, when even an omnivorous philosophy became impotent, the present of the pagan world surrendered itself to the exactions of an imperious past; only the sentiment of adoration was left, a sentiment akin to the passionate veneration of the Humanists for the literature of the ancients. Through the medium of this sentiment the epigoni surveyed their past—antiquity itself was the warrant of fame. Plutarch says of a sculpture from the hand of Pheidias: "it was an antique at the very outset by reason of its beauty."

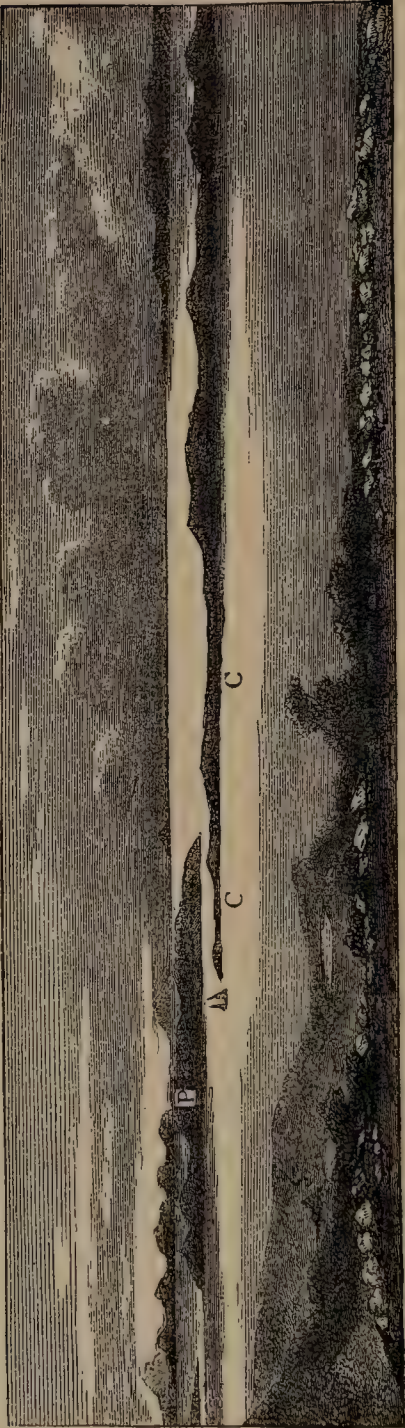
In every age there is a contrast between past and present in the creation of any human product that contains the seed of life. Literature, law, art, custom, are herein alike. But all peoples are not alike in the national expression of the struggle between an insurgent present and a militant past. Greek genius has a singular intellectual polarity; the impulse to create is not divorced from the impulse to recreate; the activity of the literary artist consists in adjusting his creative impulse to tradition; the forward movement of thought is developed in conjunction with the consciousness of the permanence of past achievement and with the readaptation of some old-time belief.

Progress, the creation of ideas fruitful for a nation's existence and for the welfare of other times, was the vital feature of ancient Greece. If the constant birth of new ideas was so rapid as to forbid the full fruition of the inventive faculty within each particular sphere, if Greece bore too much to see all her intellectual offspring reach maturity, her past gave definition to the fluent image of the shifting present. The inevitable discord of recession and progression is only one of those discords which, as the philosopher of Ephesus has taught, are in reality concords; for contraries unite in a higher unity—the unity of the Greek spirit.





PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE STRAITS AND BAY OF SALAMIS, FROM MOUNT AEGALEOS.  
*From Razoulinson's Herodotus, by permission.*  
 SOUTH.



[Join.]

Coast of Attica.

P. Island of Psytaleia. C...C. Point of Salamis (Cynosoura).  
 WEST.



Salamis.

[Join.]

S...S. Town of Salamis. G. Island of St. George. sh. Shoal.



## THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS

BY WILLIAM W. GOODWIN

IN 1885 I published an article on the Battle of Salamis, which was the result of frequent visits to Salamis and the Attic shores opposite the island, made during my residence in Athens as Director of the American School of Classical Studies in 1882-1883.<sup>1</sup> The view of land and water which these memorable scenes present to-day is essentially the same as that on which Xerxes looked when he took his seat on Mt. Aegaleos on that eventful September morning in 480 B.C. which decided the fate of Greece. The barren island of Psyttaleia, one of the central points in the battle; the rough Silenian rocks, at the end of the long sharp point of Salamis, where "Artembares, leader of ten-thousand horse,"<sup>2</sup> found his grave; the hill on which the town of Salamis stood, in its commanding position, boldly projecting into the bay; the rocky and inhospitable coast of the mainland of Attica, with its steep height of Aegaleos rising opposite the town; the bright clear waters of the straits of Salamis, still as ready as of old to change from a glassy calm to a lively swell in the morning sea-breeze;<sup>3</sup> — all these are still familiar sights to every one who sails or rows from the Piraeus over to the bay of Salamis.

In the article of 1885, my chief object was to show that the common account of the battle, supposed to be founded on Herodotus, according to which the greater part of the Persian fleet was brought into the straits of Salamis during the night before the battle, and drawn up along the Attic shore before daybreak, is entirely wrong, and that the Persian fleet did not enter the straits until just before the battle began in the morning. I also maintained that Herodotus did not intend to give this view of the Persian movements. Most modern writers suppose the

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<sup>1</sup> Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Vol. I, pp. 239-262.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 302.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Them.* 14.

Persian ships to have been drawn up (often in three lines) directly opposite the Greeks, extending from the entrance of the gulf of Eleusis almost to the entrance of the Piraeus. Indeed it is generally assumed that the principal movement by which the Persians hoped to cut off the escape of the Greeks from Salamis, after Xerxes had been deceived by the crafty message of Themistocles, consisted in bringing a large part of their fleet into this position. It is said that, under cover of the night and without the knowledge of the Greeks, they rowed several hundred ships quietly through the narrow passages between the Attic coast and the two opposite points of Psyttaleia and Salamis, and formed their line along the main land, until their northern wing was pushed beyond Aegaleos so as to close the passage into the gulf of Eleusis.<sup>1</sup> If this movement, which is commonly supposed to be an essential feature in the account of Herodotus, is once admitted, the plan of the next day's battle becomes very simple. The Greeks, who had spent the night on shore at Salamis, would have embarked on their ships soon after day-break and formed their line in the bay of Salamis directly in the face of the enemy; so that little would have remained but for each fleet to advance a few hundred yards and engage the opposite enemy. It is therefore the fundamental question whether this night movement of the Persians really took place,—whether, in short, the Persian fleet entered the straits of Salamis at all before the morning of the battle.

Since the publication of my article on Salamis, I have been unexpectedly gratified by many expressions of approval from scholars of high authority. I may mention Professor Percy Gardner, of Oxford, who in his *New Chapters of Greek History*, Clarendon Press, 1892, gives a conspicuous place to my argument on the site of the battle; Dr. G. B. Grundy, of Oxford, who warmly approves of my view of the battle, but thinks that Herodotus gives a wrong account of it;<sup>2</sup> Dr. A. R.

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<sup>1</sup> Grote, V, p. 172, says: "During the night, a portion of the Persian fleet, sailing from Peiraeus northward along the western coast of Attica, closed round to the north of the town and harbour of Salamis, so as to shut up the northern issue from the strait on the side of Eleusis." See Grote's map, with the Persian fleet in three lines. See also Cox, *Hist. of Greece*, I, p. 534, and especially the opposite map, with the supposed positions of the two fleets marked. Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.* II, p. 69, though he is less explicit, seems to take the same view.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XVII, 230-240.



A . . . B, Greek line at beginning of battle. C . . . D, Persian front line at beginning of battle.  
 . . . E . . . F . . . G, Persian line of blockade (in the night)





Munro, of Oxford, who refers to my article and agrees with its general conclusions, while he rejects the opposing view (as he deems it) of Herodotus;<sup>1</sup> and especially A. Milchhöfer, *Erläuternder Text zu Curtius u. Kaupert's Karten von Attika*, Berlin, 1895, VII–VIII, pp. 26, 27, who not only agrees with me in regard to the topography of the battle, but also thinks that the language of Herodotus can, without emendation or forcible interpretation, be reconciled with that of Aeschylus. Dr. Evelyn Abbott, in his *History of Greece* (London, 1892), Part II, p. 184, places the right wing of the Persians, just before the battle, outside of the outlet between Salamis and Attica, referring to my article as showing the improbability of the common view. Thirlwall appears not to have thought of the Persians being in the inner bay at all. He says (II, 301, ed. of 1838): "One line stretched from Cynosura to the Attic port of Munychia." Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, II, p. 63, note (Engl. trans.), after remarking that he has not seen my paper, says: "I confess that I do not think the question as to the position of the Persian ships at the beginning of the action has been satisfactorily determined." In the text he had taken the common view.

I must refer with special interest to an elaborate essay on the battle by Lieut. Pericles Rhediades of the Royal Greek Navy, who was stationed for a long time at the navy-yard just north of the hill of Salamis, where he had ample opportunity to study the topography in the light of all the ancient authorities. He unhesitatingly approves my general view of the battle, and I have now modified this in some important details in conformity to his high authority.<sup>2</sup>

The only expression of disagreement with the views of my article which I have seen is in the paper on *Herodotus's Account of the Battle of Salamis*, in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. XXXIII (1902), pp. 127–138, by my friend, Benj. Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California. I shall have frequent occasion to allude to this carefully written paper in the following pages.

Several objections to the common view of the battle suggest themselves at once.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* XXII, 325–332.

<sup>2</sup> Ἡ ἐν Σαλαμῶνι ναυμαχία, ἀπὸ ναυτικῆς καὶ ιστορικῆς ἀπόψεως, ὑπὸ Περικλέους Δ. Πρεδιάδου, ἀνθυποπλοιάρχου τοῦ Βασιλείου Ναυτικοῦ. Ἐν Αθήναις, 1902.

1. The straits and bay of Salamis are very narrow at some points. The passage between the shore of Attica and Psyttaleia is less than 4000 feet wide. The foot of Aegaleos is hardly 4500 feet from the point of Salamis, and hardly 3500 feet from the island of St. George in the bay north of the town. Moreover, this last passage is broken by a large shoal, which must have been not only very dangerous in night navigation, but also a serious obstruction to naval movements, practically reducing the width of the channel here to about 1800 feet. Can we now believe that the Greek fleet was allowed to form quietly in line of battle in the two passages last mentioned, in the very face of the Persian fleet hardly half a mile distant? It is here a most important point, that our eye-witness, Aeschylus, distinctly implies that it was only after the Greeks had rowed forward some distance from their first position that they were seen by the Persians.<sup>1</sup> Themistocles, we are informed, harangued the Greek crews on the shore of Salamis after day-break, when (on the common theory) the enemy's fleet must have been in plain sight just across the bay. After this the Greeks embarked;<sup>2</sup> then, after waiting for the arrival of the Aeginetan trireme sent the day before to summon the Aeacidae from Aegina to their aid,<sup>3</sup> or (as Plutarch relates) for the morning sea-breeze to blow,<sup>4</sup> they began their advance. Is it likely that the Persians, who if they were within the straits were there eager to capture the Greek fleet, which they believed to be anxious to elude them by flight, would have lost this opportunity to anticipate the Spartan tactics at Aegospotami<sup>5</sup> by seizing the Greek ships while the crews were getting ready to embark, or would have failed at least to attack them before their line of battle could be formed?

2. It is agreed on all hands that the Persian movement, whatever it was, by which the Greeks were actually surrounded and their escape was cut off, was executed by night so secretly and silently that none of the Greeks at Salamis suspected it until they heard of its accomplishment

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<sup>1</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 398: *θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν*. This point is strongly emphasized by Loeschke, *Jahrb. d. Phil.*, 1877, pp. 29, 30, and by others, especially by Rhediades, pp. 30, 31. See below, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. 8, 83.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 64; 82.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Them.* 14.

<sup>5</sup> Xen. *Hellen.* 2, 1, 27; Grote, VIII, p. 296.

from Aristides and afterwards from the Tenian deserters.<sup>1</sup> Can we conceive of such carelessness on the part of the Greeks at this momentous crisis, that the long line of Persian ships could have passed directly by their camp and within hearing distance of the town of Salamis without attracting the least attention?<sup>2</sup> Aristides, it will be remembered, returning from exile at this critical moment, made the passage from Aegina to Salamis during this night with great danger, and immediately informed Themistocles that the Greeks were completely shut in by the enemy. Themistocles saw by this that his stratagem was successful, as he told Aristides. But he shows by his language (as Herodotus<sup>3</sup> reports it) that he had no information on the subject before the coming of Aristides: if, however, the chief Persian movement had been made within the bay of Salamis, it could never have escaped his vigilance. Aristides was then introduced to the council of the Greek commanders, to whom he told his story, saying that he had come over from Aegina and had with great difficulty eluded the blockading ships of the enemy, for the whole Greek encampment was encompassed by the ships of Xerxes.<sup>4</sup> Plutarch quotes Aristides as saying: "The sea about us *and behind us* is full of the enemy's ships";<sup>5</sup> and he himself relates that the Persian ships "sailed out by night, and surrounded and beset the straits on all sides and the islands."<sup>6</sup> It seems to me that the expressions of Aristides, like those of Herodotus and Plutarch, plainly refer to a blockade of both outlets of the bay of Salamis, so that the escape of the Greeks was completely cut off on the north as well as on the south; and to the stationing of ships at other points around Salamis. But they

<sup>1</sup> Herod. 8, 82; Plut. *Them.* 12, *Arist.* 8.

<sup>2</sup> The important question whether there was bright moonlight on the night before the battle is discussed later. See pp. 88-91, below.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. 8, 80.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. 8, 81: *φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἦκεν καὶ μόγισ ἐκπλώσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω.*

<sup>5</sup> Plut. *Arist.* 8: *τὸ γὰρ ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ κατόπιν ἤδη πέλαγος ἐμπέπλησται νεῶν πολεμίων.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*: *ὥς γὰρ αἱ βαρβαρικαὶ τριήρεις νύκτωρ ἀναχθεῖσαι καὶ περιβαλοῦσαι τὸν τε πόρον ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ τὰς νήσους κατεῖχον, οὐδενὸς προειδότος τὴν κύκλωσιν, ἦκεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, κ.τ.λ.*



cannot reasonably be made to imply anything like filling the straits of Salamis themselves with Persian ships.

3. Aeschylus, Herodotus, and Plutarch concur in the statement that Xerxes landed a body of Persians on Psyttaleia because he thought that this island would be a central point in the sea-fight.<sup>1</sup> This certainly implies that he expected to meet the Greek fleet at the southern outlet of the straits, by which he thought it would attempt to escape. If he had formed his plan to pen the whole Greek fleet into the bay of Salamis by stretching his own ships through the straits beyond Aegaleos, he must have expected that the battle would be fought in the inner bay; and nothing short of a successful breaking of his blockade by the Greeks could have made Psyttaleia the scene of a serious contest. Aeschylus and Herodotus<sup>2</sup> agree that the Persians on the island were to save Persians and slaughter Greeks who might be driven ashore there in the battle. Herodotus speaks of the probability of both men and wrecks being brought there, since the island lay directly in the line of the expected battle.<sup>3</sup> Plutarch says expressly that about Psyttaleia appears *to have been the scene* of the greatest struggle and the hardest fighting.<sup>4</sup>

These general considerations, I maintain, fully justify us in rejecting the idea that the Persian fleet passed the straits during the night, unless we find the most positive testimony in proof of such a movement. Let us now examine the testimony on which our view of the battle must be based.

In Aeschylus we have not only an eye-witness of the battle, but probably an actual combatant. According to Ion of Chios,<sup>5</sup> a friend of Aeschylus, Pausanias,<sup>6</sup> and the Medicean Life of Aeschylus,<sup>7</sup> the poet

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 441-464; Herod. 8, 76; 95; Plut. *Arist.* 9.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 450-453; Herod. 8, 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*: ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Arist.* 9: ὁ γὰρ πλείστος ὠθισμὸς τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς μάχης τὸ καρτερώτατον ἔοικε περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον γενέσθαι.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. on Aesch. *Pers.* 429: "Ἴων παρῆναι Αἰσχύλον ἐν τοῖς Σαλαμινιακοῖς φησι. Plutarch, *De Prof. in Virt.* 8, tells of Aeschylus talking familiarly with Ion at the Isthmian games.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. 1, 14, 5: καὶ πρὸ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχῆσας.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 2 (Dind.): γενναῖον δὲ αὐτὸν φασὶ καὶ μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ Κυνεγείρῳ, τῆς τε ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας σὺν τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἀμεινίᾳ, καὶ τῆς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς πεζομαχίας.



fought on one of the Athenian ships at Salamis. In any case his testimony is unimpeachable; and although he is a poet, to whom it would be absurd to look for a detailed and accurate history of the battle, it is at least safe to say that nothing can be accepted as historic which *distinctly contradicts* any plain statement of Aeschylus regarding the contest. In 473-472 B.C., less than eight years after the battle, Aeschylus wrote his tragedy, *The Persians*, in which he puts a most graphic narrative of the fight at Salamis into the mouth of a Persian messenger, who bears the report of the great defeat to Atossa, the mother of Xerxes, at Susa. The account begins (*Pers.* 353) with the crafty message sent by Themistocles to Xerxes, that the Greeks are about to make their escape in the coming night from the bay of Salamis, where their fleet was lying. The King at once orders the officers of his fleet to make two movements to shut up the Greeks within the bay, so that escape shall be impossible. When night shall come, they are first to "station a squadron of ships in three lines, to guard the exits and the rushing straits of the sea" (i. e. the southern outlets of the straits of Salamis), and secondly to station "others round about the island of Ajax."<sup>1</sup> He threatens that, if the Greeks escape this blockade and take to flight, all the commanders shall lose their heads. The crews take their supper on shore, and each rower then sees that his oar is securely lashed to its thole. When night came on, they embark, and sail forth each to his appointed position in the blockade, while the lines of long ships are heard shouting to one another. And they sail to the positions to which each was assigned.<sup>2</sup> "The masters of the ships kept the whole naval host rowing about (or 'rowing in various directions') all night.

<sup>1</sup> *Pers.* 364-368:

εὐτ' ἂν φλέγων ἀκτῖσιν ἥλιος χθόνα  
 λήξῃ, κνέφας δὲ τέμενος αἰθέρος λάβῃ,  
 τάξαι νεῶν στῆφος μὲν ἐν στοίχοις τρισίν,  
 ἔκπλους φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἀλιρρόθους·  
 ἄλλας δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσον Αἶαντος πέριξ.

V. 367 can refer to nothing but the two outlets from the bay of Salamis, on either side of Psyttaleia. V. 368 is generally referred to sending a large naval force by the west of Salamis to block the passage between Salamis and Megara.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 369-381.

And the night passed on; and nowhere did the Greeks make any attempt to sail out in secret flight."<sup>1</sup>

But when the morning sun illumined the earth with his beams, the Persians were struck with consternation as they heard the war-song chanted by the Greeks and loudly echoed from the rocky hills of Salamis. "Now terror seized all the barbarians, as they were disappointed in their hopes. For it was not for flight that the Greeks were chanting their solemn paean, but as men rushing into battle with the courage of brave hearts. And the trumpet with its voice fired all their ranks. At once with the united stroke of the dashing oars they smote the deep sea at the word of command. And quickly they all appeared to us in full sight."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pers.* 382-385:

καὶ πάννυχτοι δὴ διάπλουν καθίστασαν  
ναῶν ἄνακτες πάντα ναυτικὸν λέων.  
καὶ νῦξ ἐχώρει, κοῦ μάλ' Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς  
κρυφαῖον ἔκπλουν οὐδαμῇ καθίστατο.

Wheeler (pp. 130, 133, 134) thinks that I have misunderstood and misinterpreted these verses of Aeschylus. He explains them thus: "All the night they keep *sailing through*, until, when the night is passed, no place is left for the Greeks to sail out." While I have not the slightest doubt of the correctness of my own translation, I must leave it to scholars to decide which of us is right. Wheeler (p. 133) says that it is only through my misinterpretation of these lines that I refuse to think that the Persians began to enter the straits before daylight. I hope I have shown that I have many other grounds (though none that are stronger) for this refusal; but I cannot see that he cites any other passage of Aeschylus in support of his opposite opinion than these lines with his own interpretation. Wheeler objects to my explanation of *διάπλουν καθίστασαν*, which he translates *keep sailing through* (i. e. the straits into the bay of Salamis). But *διάπλους* generally means *sailing across* (from place to place), like *διαπλέω* in Arist. *Vesp.* 123, *διέπλευσεν εἰς Αἶγιναν*, *he sailed over to Aegina* (from Athens), and *διάπλουν καθίστασαν* here (I think) refers to the sailing of the ships which were destined to different points in the blockade of Salamis in various directions, including those sent to block the passage north of Salamis, which Aristides encountered in his passage from Aegina (see pp. 86, 87). My expression *kept* (them) *rowing about* happens to be Paley's; while Plumptre gives *rowing to and fro*, Campbell *kept their mariners manoeuvring*, and Blaikie *all night they cruised*. It probably never occurred to any one before Wheeler to refer the words to *passing through the straits*, and it is only by this interpretation that he is able to find a word of Aeschylus to support his main argument.

<sup>2</sup> *Pers.* 386-398:

ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι λευκόπῳλος ἡμέρα  
πᾶσαν κατέσχε γαῖαν εὐφεγγῆς ἰδεῖν,

"Their right wing first led the way in good order, and next the whole fleet advanced; and in loud harmony their shout was heard by us, 'Children of Greeks, advance! free your country, free your children, your wives, the shrines of your fathers' Gods, and the tombs of your ancestors! Now we are to fight for our all.' Then from our side they were met by the din of the Persian tongue, and there was no longer a moment for delay. At once ship against ship dashed its brazen beak. A Greek ship began the attack, and crushed the whole figure-head of a Phoenician; and now each one steered his ship against another. At first the stream of the Persian fleet held its own; but when the multitude of ships were crowded in the narrows so that they could not help each other, and they were themselves struck by the brazen beaks of their own ships, their armament of oars was crushed, while at the same time the Grecian ships right skilfully encircled them and dashed into them from every side. The hulls of their ships were upturned, and the water was no longer to be seen, filled with wrecks and slaughtered men. The shores and rocks were covered with their dead. And now every ship which was left of the barbaric host rowed away in disorderly flight. The Greeks smote and cleft them with pieces of oars and fragments of wrecks, as men spear tunnies or a haul of fish. Their cries overspread the whole sea with wailings, until the eye of dark night bade it all cease. The multitude of ills I could not recount in full, were I to give ten days to my story. But be assured, never in a single day did such a multitude of men perish."<sup>1</sup>

πρῶτον μὲν ἡχῇ κέλαδος Ἑλλήνων πάρα  
 μολπηδὸν ἠυφήμησεν, ὄρθιον δ' ἄμα  
 ἀντηλάλαξε νησιώτιδος πέτρας  
 ἡχώ· φόβος δὲ πᾶσι βαρβάροις παρῆν  
 γνώμης ἀποσφαλεῖσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς φυγῇ  
 παιᾶν' ἐφύμνουν σεμνὸν Ἕλληνας τότε,  
 ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην ὀρμῶντες εὐψύχω θράσει·  
 σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν.  
 εὐθύς δὲ κώπης βοτιάδος ξυνεμβολῇ  
 ἔπαισαν ἄλμην βρύχιον ἐκ κελεύματος·  
 θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν.

For the importance of the last verse see pp. 78 and 96.

<sup>1</sup> Pers. 399-432:

τὸ δεξιὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐτάκτως κέρας  
 400 ἡγεῖτο κόσμῳ, δευτέρων δ' ὁ πᾶς στόλος

The foregoing is the clear account of Aeschylus of a battle in which he himself took part. It is of course a poet's story, and it omits much of the detail which we should expect from an historian. I think we are safe in maintaining that no account which distinctly contradicts this can be accepted as true. I shall discuss this passage later in connection with the account of Herodotus. But it is perfectly plain that there is nothing here that looks like a line (or three lines) of Persian ships between the town of Salamis and the shore of Attica. On the contrary, we have three lines of ships set by Xerxes to guard the exit of the straits

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- ἐπεξεχώρει, καὶ παρῆν ὁμοῦ κλύειν  
 πολλὴν βοήν· ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἴτε,  
 ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ  
 παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρῴων ἔδῃ  
 405 θήκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών·  
 καὶ μὴν παρ' ἡμῶν Περσίδος γλώσσης ῥόθος  
 ὑπηντίαζε, κούκét' ἦν μέλλειν ἀκμή.  
 εὐθὺς δὲ ναὺς ἐν νηὶ χαλκῇρ᾽ στόλον  
 ἔπαισεν· ἦρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνικῇ  
 410 ναὺς, κάποθραύει πάντα Φοινίσσης νεῶς  
 κόρυμβ', ἐπ' ἄλλην δ' ἄλλος ἠΰθυνεν δόρυ.  
 τὰ πρῶτα μέν νυν ῥεῦμα Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ  
 ἀντεῖχεν· ὥς δὲ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ νεῶν  
 ἤθροιστ', ἀρωγὴ δ' οὔτις ἀλλήλοις παρῆν,  
 415 αὐτοὶ δ' ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐμβόλοις χαλκοστόμοις  
 παλοντ', ἔθρανον πάντα κωπήρ᾽ στόλον.  
 Ἑλληνικαὶ τε νῆες οὐκ ἀφρασμόνως  
 κύκλῳ πέριξ ἔθεινον, ὑπτιοῦτο δὲ  
 σκάφη νεῶν, θάλασσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἦν ἰδεῖν,  
 420 ναυαγίων πλήθουσα καὶ φόνου βροτῶν.  
 ἀκταὶ δὲ νεκρῶν χοιράδες δ' ἐπλήθουν,  
 φυγῇ δ' ἀκόσμῳ πᾶσα ναὺς ἡρέσσετο,  
 θσαιπερ ἦσαν βαρβάρου στρατεύματος.  
 τοὶ δ' ὥστε θύνουσι ἢ τιν' ἰχθύων βόλον  
 425 ἀγαῖσι κωπῶν θραύμασιν τ' ἐρειπίων  
 ἔπαιον, ἐρράχιζον· οὐμωγὴ δ' ὁμοῦ  
 κωκύμασιν κατεῖχε πελαγίαν ἅλα,  
 ἕως κελαινῆς νυκτὸς ὅμμι' ἀφείλετο.  
 κακῶν δὲ πλῆθος, οὐδ' ἂν εἰ δέκ' ἡματα  
 430 στοιχηγοροίην, οὐκ ἂν ἐκπλήσαιμι σοι.  
 εὐ γὰρ τόδ' ἴσθι, μηδάμ' ἡμερᾷ μιᾷ  
 πλῆθος τοσουτάριθμον ἀνθρώπων θανεῖν.



of Salamis (ἐκπλους φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἀλιρρόθους), which certainly is the same movement as that described by Herodotus in the words, κατεῖχον μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί, *they held the whole passage* (evidently from the straits) *to Munychia with their ships*. The movement mentioned by Aeschylus in v. 368, ἄλλας δὲ κύκλω νῆσον Αἴαντος πέριξ (sc. τάξαι), *and (set) others round about the island of Ajax*, must include what Diodorus describes as "sending out the Egyptian naval force with orders to block the passage between Salamis and the coast of Megara," which is described in somewhat different language by Herodotus.<sup>1</sup> Vv. 412-414, in which the poet speaks of the *stream* (ῥεῦμα) of Persian ships at first holding its own, but afterwards being *crowded in the narrows* (ἐν στένῳ) and falling into hopeless confusion, could never refer to a fleet sailing across from the Attic shore to attack a fleet advancing from the opposite shore of Salamis. This is obviously what Diodorus describes in equally plain language.<sup>2</sup> Thucydides makes the Athenian orator at Sparta speak of Themistocles as αἰτιώτατος ἐν τῷ στένῳ ναυμαχῆσαι, *chiefly responsible for fighting in the narrows*.<sup>3</sup> On the supposition that the Persian fleet was lying along the Attic shore within the straits before daybreak, Aeschylus, Diodorus (i. e. Ephorus), and Thucydides do not give *another account* of the matter; they simply tell an impossible story.

We must next examine the evidence of Herodotus. I shall give a brief abstract of the passages in which he states anything concerning the preparations for the battle or the course of the combat, with the Greek text and a literal translation (in quotation marks) of all which concern the chief question which we are considering.

(Herod. 8, 67, 70, 75.) The Persian fleet came to Phalerum (the old port of Athens) soon after the sea-fight at Artemisium. On the day before the battle of Salamis, Xerxes held a council of war, in which a majority of his leaders voted for another sea-fight. He at once ordered the fleet to move out of the harbor in the direction of Salamis. The ships were drawn up in line, ready for a battle the next day. The Greeks

<sup>1</sup> See Diod. II, 17; Herod. 8, 76, which is discussed below, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. II, 18: οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πλέοντες διετήρουν τὴν τάξιν, ἔχοντες πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν· ὡς δ' εἰς τὸ στενὸν ἦλθον, ἡναγκάζοντο τῶν νεῶν τινὰς ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως ἀποσπᾶν, καὶ πολὺν ἐποίουν θόρυβον.

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. I, 74: cf. Plut. *Them.* 14.

in the mean time were alarmed, and Themistocles saw that the majority were likely to vote to abandon Attica to the enemy and sail away to Peloponnesus. The afternoon before the battle, after the Persian fleet had moved towards Salamis, Themistocles secretly sent his faithful slave, Sicinnus, to warn Xerxes and his generals that the Greeks were about to escape with their fleet and to advise them to prevent their flight.

(76.) "The Persian commanders believed this message; and they first landed a large Persian force on the island of Psyttaleia, between Salamis and the mainland. Secondly, when midnight came, they brought their west wing round by a circuit to Salamis, and those who had been stationed about Ceos and Cynosura brought their fleet up, and held the whole passage as far as Munychia with the ships. They thus brought up their ships, that the Greeks might not even be able to take flight, but might be penned up in Salamis and be punished for the way they fought at Artemisium. All this they did in silence, that the enemy might have no knowledge of it. They also landed Persians on Psyttaleia, thinking that both men and wrecks would be carried thither during the battle (for the island lay in the path of the coming sea-fight), that they might rescue their own men and destroy the enemy."<sup>1</sup>

(78-82.) Meanwhile there was a great strife of words among the Greek commanders at Salamis. They did not yet know that the barbarians were surrounding them, but thought these were still where they had seen them the day before. While they were disputing, Aristides suddenly arrived, having just crossed over from Aegina. He told Themistocles and afterwards the whole council that escape was impossible, as they were entirely blockaded by the enemy and he had found great difficulty in escaping the ships which he saw on his passage. He

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<sup>1</sup> 8, 76: τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγένετο τὰ ἀγγεληθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησιδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβιβάσαντο. τοῦτο δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνήγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρας κέρας κυκλοῦμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, ἀνήγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μεχρὶ Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί· τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα ἀνήγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴδὲ φυγεῖν ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησιδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὥς ἐπεὶ γίνηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυαγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πρόφω τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιέωσι τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρωσι. ἐποίηεν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πυνθανοῖατο οἱ ἐναντίοι.

urged them to make ready for defence. The commanders still refused to believe the story, until a Tenian ship, which had deserted from the Persian fleet, arrived with the same news. Themistocles now saw that his crafty device of sending his messenger to Xerxes had succeeded.

(83, 84.) The Greeks now prepared for the battle. The day dawned, and Themistocles harangued the crews on the shore. They then embarked, and just then the ship arrived from Aegina which had been sent thither to bring the images of the Aeacidae (see 8, 64). They rowed out with all their ships; and as they were putting to sea, the Persians at once moved to attack them (*ἐπεκέατο*). Some of the Greeks (not the Athenians) now (in a slight panic) began to back water and were minded to beach their ships, when suddenly an Athenian captain, Aminias, dashed forward with his ship before the line, and engaged a Persian ship. The two ships became so entangled that they could not be separated, whereupon the whole fleet came to help Aminias, and the battle was begun. . . . It is reported that the phantom of a woman appeared (at the moment of the panic) and cried out, so that all the Greeks could hear, "Ye good men, how far are you going to back water?"

For the first lines in 85, *κατὰ δὲ . . . τὸν Πειραιέα*, see the discussion in pp. 99, 100, where the passage is quoted.

(86.) Most of the Persian ships at Salamis were disabled by either the Athenians or the Aeginetans. For the Greeks fought in good order and in line, while the Persians did not keep their line or do anything with any sense, so that the issue could not have been other than it was.<sup>1</sup>

(89.) The Persian admiral, a brother of Xerxes, was killed, with many other notable Persians.<sup>2</sup> Only a few Greeks perished, for when their ships were destroyed they could swim to Salamis. But most of the Persians in such cases were drowned, as they could not swim. When the front line of Persian ships was put to flight, most of them were destroyed; for those behind them, striving to push forward that they

<sup>1</sup> 8, 86: ἄτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὔτε τεταγμένων ἔτι οὔτε σὺν νόῳ ποιόντων οὐδὲν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνολίσσθαι οἷόν περ ἀπέβη.

<sup>2</sup> 8, 89. See Diod. II, 17: ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος προηγούμενος τῆς τάξεως καὶ πρῶτος συνάψας μάχην διεφθάρη λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος.



might make a show of valor before the king, became entangled with their own ships which were trying to escape.

(91 and 93.) When the barbarians were in flight towards Phalerum, the Aeginetans posted themselves in the channel and did notable deeds. For in the tumult of the battle the Athenians disabled the Persian ships which either made resistance or took to flight, while the Aeginetans dealt with those which succeeded in passing the straits: and when any escaped the Athenians, they fell at once into the hands of the Aeginetans. . . . The Aeginetans gained the greatest glory in the battle, and next to them were the Athenians.

(95.) The slaughter of the Persians on Psyttaleia by Aristides after the battle is merely mentioned.

(96.) After the battle, the Greeks towed to Salamis the wrecks which were in that neighborhood. But a west wind carried many over to Cape Colias, near Phalerum.

I have attempted to give all that I find in Herodotus bearing on the questions which we are now considering. I fail to see in his scattered narratives anything like Wheeler's "continuous, consistent, and well-considered account" of the battle.<sup>1</sup> Least of all can I find any passage which, fairly interpreted with the help of other accounts, gives any ground for the common belief that Herodotus meant to represent the Persian fleet as drawn up along the Attic shore opposite the town of Salamis on the morning of the battle.

Before proceeding further, I must examine the tradition that the battle was fought at about the time of full moon. In the fragment ascribed to Plutarch, *On the Glory of the Athenians*, we have (§ 7) a mention of the sacrifice to Artemis on the 16th of Munychion, ἐν ᾗ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι περὶ Σαλαμίνα νικῶσιν ἐπέλαμψεν ἡ θεὸς πανσέληνος. This date is that of the festival of Artemis Munychia, in which a commemoration of Salamis was included. Plutarch gives the real date of the battle in his life of Camillus (§ 19), ἐν δὲ Σαλαμῖνι (sc. ἐνίκων)

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Munro goes so far as to say (p. 326): "Herodotus has collected a miscellaneous store of anecdotes, but every attentive reader must see that he has little idea of the operations as a whole." He probably found it difficult to obtain trustworthy and consistent accounts from the survivors of the battle: he admits this distinctly in 8, 87.



περὶ τὰς εἰκάδας, i. e. about the 20th of Boedromion (our September).<sup>1</sup> The "divine Full Moon of Salamis" points to a common tradition. The full moon of September, 480 B.C., fell on the 18th (by our reckoning), and the moon was eclipsed on that night. We have thus a strong probability that the night before the battle was moonlit, and this adds to the improbability (not to say the impossibility) of the Persians arraying their immense fleet along the Attic shore without the suspicion of the Greeks less than a mile distant.

Wheeler (p. 134) objects vigorously to my opinion that the battle followed a moonlight night; but he gives no grounds for his objection except a reference to Aeschylus (*Pers.* 365) and to Busolt's argument on this question. But *κνέφας* in *Pers.* 365 and 357 is merely a poetic expression for *night*, without regard to the presence or absence of the moon. Busolt frankly admits that in a clear moonlight night the movement of the Persians to the supposed position could not have been made without the knowledge of the Greeks; and it is therefore for him a vital matter to prove that the night was dark.<sup>2</sup> Busolt's is, so far as I know, the only argument which attempts to prove that the battle took place as late as the 27th or 28th of September, i. e. only four or five days before the new moon. He bases this entirely on Hdt. 9, 10, where the solar eclipse of October 2d is said to have prevented Cleombrotus from marching with his Spartan army from the isthmus of Corinth into Boeotia to join in cutting off the retreat of Xerxes. According to Herodotus (8, 113), Xerxes began to evacuate Attica "a few days" (*ὀλίγας ἡμέρας*) after the battle of Salamis. Busolt allows four (or at most five) days for Xerxes to make up his mind to retreat and to prepare his army to march, and for Cleombrotus to get the news of this and to decide to march into Boeotia. This would (he thinks) give September 27th or 28th (probably the latter) for the battle.

It will be noticed that this argument depends entirely on the assumption that the *ὀλίγας ἡμέρας* of Herodotus cannot cover more than four or five days. Let us see what Herodotus himself tells us of what happened in this period. When Xerxes became aware of the extent of his defeat, he made his plans to retreat to Asia by land. But fearing

<sup>1</sup> A. Mommsen, *Chronologie*, 104, 105.

<sup>2</sup> Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, II, 702-704.

that the Greeks might hasten to destroy his bridge over the Hellespont, he tried to prevent either the Greeks or his own army from suspecting this, and he succeeded in deceiving everybody except his trusty general, Mardonius.<sup>1</sup> During this time he could not even begin to prepare for his march. To conceal his plan, he began to build a huge dam from the Attic shore to Salamis, making a temporary passage by lashing together Phoenician merchant ships to serve as a bridge and as a protection to the workmen. He also began new warlike preparations, to make the Greeks believe that he was planning another sea-fight; and it was universally thought that he was determined to remain and carry on the war. Mardonius, who alone had suspected a retreat, now came to Xerxes, and advised him either to invade the Peloponnesus, or else, if he was bent on returning to Persia, to leave him with 300,000 chosen men to undertake the conquest of Greece. Xerxes was pleased with the latter plan; and he consulted his councillors, especially Artemisia, whose advice he greatly valued. The Queen advised him to accept the plan of Mardonius, which he did. He entrusted his children to Artemisia to convey them to Ephesus while he marched to Asia with his army.<sup>2</sup> In the following night he sent his fleet with all speed to the Hellespont, to secure the safety of the bridge. The next day, the Greeks prepared for a sea-fight, never doubting that the Persian fleet was still at Phalerum. When they found that it had departed in the night, they set out with their own fleet in pursuit. But when they saw nothing of the Persian ships after passing the south point of Euboea, they landed at Andros and held a council. Themistocles urged them strongly to sail at once to the Hellespont and destroy the bridge; but the Peloponnesian captains opposed this vigorously, and besought the Greeks to do nothing to keep the Persians in their country but to make their escape as easy as possible. Themistocles now professed to agree with this opinion, and he persuaded the Athenians to follow him. But he was crafty enough to use this crisis to secure for himself the favor of Xerxes, with a view to his future necessities; and he sent his slave Sicinnus again to the King secretly, to inform him that he had prevented the Greeks from breaking the bridge and pursuing his fleet; and he wished him a peaceful return to Persia.<sup>3</sup> It was after these various

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<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 8, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. 8, 100-103.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 107-110.

occurrences that Xerxes and his army left Attica for Boeotia and Thessaly.

This account shows how we are to understand the "few days" between the battle and the march of Xerxes. Does anyone think that ten days would be too long a time to allow for these events? Cleombrotus at the Isthmus could hardly have heard anything about the retreat of Xerxes which would have caused him to consult the sacrifices to see whether he should march in pursuit of him, until he heard that the Persian fleet had sailed from Phalerum. I can see nothing in the date of the sacrifice of Cleombrotus on the second of October to induce us to give the battle a later date than the 22d or even the 21st of September. The night before the battle would then have been illumined by a bright moon, only two or three days after the full, rising before eight o'clock. But the moon does not *compel* us to place the battle earlier than the 26th (only one day before Busolt's 27th), for the moon of the 25th rose at about ten o'clock, and the Persian movements did not begin until midnight.<sup>1</sup> But I am more inclined to adopt a much earlier date, either the 21st or the 22d. I therefore accept the tradition of the "divine full moon of Salamis"; but I use it only as an additional argument, confirming one which seems to me perfectly conclusive without this help.

I have dwelt on this question at such length especially, because Busolt, who bases his chief argument on the darkness of the night, frankly admits that by clear moonlight the supposed movements of the Persians could not have escaped the knowledge of the Greeks,<sup>2</sup> while Wheeler bases almost his entire argument against the moonlight night on Busolt's.

I will now attempt to give an account of the Persian movements during the day and night before the battle and of the battle itself, based

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<sup>1</sup> Busolt seems to forget that the moon in question was the Harvest Moon, which a week after the full rose about four hours after sunset. He gives one minute after midnight for the rising of the moon September 25, instead of ten P.M.; and for the following nights 12.58 and 1.55, the correct times being 10.50 and 11.42. See any almanac for the rising of the September moon when the full moon comes near the equinox, as it did in September, 480 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> *Griech. Gesch.* II, 702: Bei hellem Mondlicht hätte die Bewegung den Hellenen nicht unbemerkt bleiben können.



on my understanding of the passages of Aeschylus and Herodotus which I have quoted or described. To this will be added such evidence as is to be found in Plutarch or Diodorus (who is here merely repeating Ephorus and so giving testimony less than a century later than that of Herodotus), when this evidence confirms, expands, or explains that of Herodotus or Aeschylus.

The Persians at Phalerum the day before the battle decided to risk another sea-fight, and they brought out their fleet towards Salamis, and arranged them in line of battle ready for a sea-fight the next day.<sup>1</sup> The same day the Greeks, probably alarmed by the Persian movement, became more than ever inclined to abandon Salamis and to sail away to Peloponnesus. Themistocles, to frustrate this design, secretly sent to Xerxes late in the afternoon, to warn him of the intended flight of the Greeks and to urge him to prevent it.<sup>2</sup> The Persian commanders immediately took measures to blockade the Greeks in Salamis and to cut off their retreat if one should be attempted during the coming night. They at once landed a strong force on Psyttaleia, which they thought would be in the midst of the coming battle. When midnight came, they made two important movements to blockade the Greeks and to prevent them from escaping either by the north channel between Salamis and Megara or by the two narrow passages on either side of Psyttaleia. First, they sent their west wing round Salamis on the west side to block the north passage between the island and Megara. Secondly, they stationed the rest of their fleet, "in three lines, to guard the outlets and the rushing straits of the sea" (as Aeschylus says), — or "they occupied the whole channel as far as Munychia with their ships" (as Herodotus gives it). Both writers say that these movements of ships were made to prevent the Greeks from escaping.<sup>3</sup> About the former of these movements there is substantial agreement, as κύκλω νῆσον Ἀἶαντος πέριξ in Aeschylus and κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα evidently refer to the same circuitous passage around the island; and this is confirmed by the plain statement of Diodorus,<sup>4</sup> that Xerxes sent out the Egyptian

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 8, 67 and 70.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 76.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. II, 17: εὐθὺς οὖν τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ναυτικὸν ἐξέπεμψε, προστάξας ἐμφράττειν τὸν μεταξὺ πόρον τῆς τε Σαλαμῖνος καὶ τῆς Μεγαρίδος χώρας.



naval force to block the passage between Salamis and Megara, and that of Plutarch,<sup>1</sup> that 200 ships were sent out as a blockading force, while Herodotus gives 200 as the Egyptian contingent.<sup>2</sup> I cannot see how any one can find in these accounts any suggestion of the main Persian fleet being sent up through the straits to the Attic coast opposite the town of Salamis, while *ἐκπλους φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἀλιρρόθους* in Aeschylus positively contradicts any such idea. Opposite Salamis town there were surely no "outlets" and no "rushing straits of the sea," which are found only in the two channels separating Psyttaleia from Salamis and the Piraeus (or Munychia). To the latter of these *μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν* in Herodotus must refer, unless *πορθμὸν* can mean the whole passage between Salamis and Attica in which Psyttaleia lies.

We may therefore assume that the main Persian blockading fleet, at daybreak on the morning of the battle, was stretched from the southwestern point of Piraeus westward, south of Psyttaleia, to near the shore of Salamis, so as to block effectually the two channels into the inner bay. See the map.

These movements probably occupied the greater part of the time

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<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Them.* 12: *διακοσίαις δ' ἀναχθέντας ἤδη περιβαλέσθαι τὸν πόρον ἐν κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ διαζῶσαι τὰς νήσους, ὅπως ἐκφύγοι μηδεὶς τῶν πολεμίων.*

<sup>2</sup> 7, 89. It is doubtful whether there were any Egyptians in the battle. Aesch. *Pers.* 311 and 321 and Hdt. 8, 100, are quoted as authority for their presence. But the vague allusion in Herodotus, where Mardonius tells Xerxes that it is no disgrace to the real Persians "if Phoenicians and Egyptians, Cyprians and Cilicians, proved cowards," can hardly be called evidence of the actual presence of Egyptians (in any numbers, or at all) at Salamis. The supposed evidence of Aeschylus is rather comic. "Arceus, who dwells near the sources of the Egyptian Nile" (?), is mentioned in 311 among the victims of the sea-fight, being one of four "who fell from the same ship" (313). Arceus himself is called leader of the "luxurious Lydians" in 44; and two of his fellow-sufferers, Adeues and Pheresseues, are said by the scholiast to have names which are not of the Egyptian style, but poetic inventions. Ariomardus, who is called in 38 "ruler of Ogygian Thebes," is said in 321 to have brought mourning upon Sardes by his untimely death. We must remember that Persian officers did not always command the troops of their own country, and also that high-sounding names which fitted the anapaestic verse must have been at a high premium when Aeschylus was writing the *πάροδος* of *The Persians*. See Hermann's note on *Pers.* 316, which ends thus: *Quare maneat posthac Aeschyli Ariomardo et imperium Aegyptiorum et patria Sardes.* These Egyptians certainly seem a little mixed!

from midnight to daybreak. Especially the ships which were sent round to the north by the west of Salamis kept the sea on that side for a long time so "full of Persians" that Aristides had a hazardous and difficult passage from Aegina to Salamis, being unable to avoid the various squadrons and so obliged to sail between them as best he could. He described "the sea around and behind the Greeks as filled by the enemy's ships," so that there was no hope of escape.<sup>1</sup> Of course the only Persian ships which he thus directly encountered were those between Salamis and Aegina, which all belonged to the west wing sent to the north; but as he approached Salamis he could see the more distant movement of the main Persian fleet, as it was moving to the points of the blockade near Psyttaleia, which showed him that all escape by the straits of Salamis was also cut off.<sup>2</sup> To suppose that Aristides reported the great Persian fleet as entering the inner bay opposite the town of Salamis is to assume that the Greeks took no notice of this dangerous movement and did not even take immediate action to protect their smaller fleet in the harbor, which would then have been an easy prey to the Persians. On the contrary, the Greek commanders refused to believe the story of Aristides until the Tenian deserters confirmed his report. This shows that they could not have settled the question by simply going to the point of the island, as they would have done if they had been told that the Persian fleet was in the inner bay.

The complete blockade was thus known to the Greeks before day-break; and their scouts must have reported the exact position of each part of the blockading fleet. Their cool behavior after daybreak shows that they did not then see a fleet of twice the size of their own lying directly opposite on the Attic shore. Instead of hastening to their ships to defend them, they assembled on the shore and listened to a speech of Themistocles, of which Herodotus gives an elaborate account, showing that it was no short or hasty harangue.<sup>3</sup> They then embarked

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<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 8, 81: μόγῃς ἐκπλῶσαι λαβὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας. Plut. *Arist.* 8: ἀπ' Ἀττικῆς παραβόλῃς διὰ τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν διεκπλεύσας.

<sup>2</sup> Aristides coming from Aegina would naturally have steered first for the straits of Salamis, until he saw that these were to be blockaded. *Pers.* 382, 383 (p. 81) represent the lively movements of the Persians as they were preparing for the various blockades.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. 8, 83.

and rowed out to meet the enemy. Herodotus tells us that while they were putting to sea the Persians advanced against them. Aeschylus is more explicit: he says that the right wing first advanced in good order; this contained the Lacedaemonians and others who had been in the bay south of the town. Then the rest of the fleet advanced, composed in great part of the 280 Athenian ships: these had been in the north bay. Herodotus mentions a brief panic which arose when the Persian fleet was just about to meet them. Some of "the other Greeks" (i. e. not Athenians, who are at once mentioned as not concerned in the panic) began to back water and were about to beach their ships. These were probably a few ships on the right wing which were just passing the point of Cynosura; and on suddenly catching sight of the Persians beyond the point advancing rapidly towards them, the men were tempted to make for the shore and escape. The apparition of a woman who appeared and remonstrated with these frightened crews was probably thought to have stood on the point. This little panic occurred just before the two fleets met; and it was suddenly stopped by the brave act of the Athenian Aminias, who dashed forward with his ship in advance of the line and attacked a Phoenician ship, with which his own ship became entangled, when a general attack was made by the whole Greek line to defend Aminias, and the battle was begun.<sup>1</sup>

We come now to the important question of the position of each fleet when this first collision took place. Here I have been persuaded, chiefly by the argument of Rhediades, to change my opinion as to the position of the Greeks. We have only one distinct statement as to the Greek line: this is in Diodorus (Ephorus), and it now seems to me to be the one which best reconciles the other accounts of the battle. According to this, the line was formed between Salamis and the Heraacleum.<sup>2</sup> The Heraacleum was a sanctuary which belonged to a district including Piraeus, Phalerum, Xypete, and Thymaetadae, hence called

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 84: οὕτω δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίῃ βοηθέοντες συνέμσγον.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. II, 18: οὗτοι (the Greeks) τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον συνταχθέντες ἐξέπλευσαν, καὶ τὸν πόρον μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἡρακλείου κατεῖχον. In my former paper (p. 256) I was persuaded by the authority of Strabo (p. 325) and Ctesias (*Persic.* § 57, 26) to place the Heraacleum wrongly near Perama (opposite the island of St. George), where the ferry crossed (and still crosses) to Salamis. See Rhediades, pp. 5, 6.



the Ἡράκλειον τετράκωμον. The temple probably stood near the small bay south of the eastern end of Aegaleos, and near it Xerxes had his seat, from which he watched the battle. The Greek line when the battle opened must have extended from A, near the point of Cynosura, to some point near that at which B stands in the map. The Persians had now passed the narrows between Psyttaleia and Attica, and were rapidly approaching the Greeks. After the establishment of the blockade in the night, they had watched for some movement of the Greeks to escape from Salamis, but all in vain. When the day broke, they were alarmed by hearing the song of battle chanted by the Greeks and reëchoed from the rocks of Salamis; for this was no sign of flight, but the shout of brave men eager for battle. Soon after this the fleet of the Greeks rowed forth from the two bays, and quickly they were all in full sight of the Persians. The last words (Aesch. *Pers.* 398), *θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν*, make it perfectly clear that the Greeks were not visible to the Persians until they had advanced some distance from the place at which the fleet was lying when the crews embarked. This verse could not have been written by one who knew that the fleet had been in full view for at least an hour on the other side of the bay directly opposite.<sup>1</sup> The moment of this sudden vision of the advancing Greeks was probably when the Persians emerged from behind Psyttaleia as they entered the straits, and the Greeks came in sight beyond Cynosura as they rowed forth from the two harbors of Salamis. As Aeschylus tells us,<sup>2</sup> the Greek right wing in the bay nearest to Cynosura came forth first, slowly and in good order: they probably waited at the point of Cynosura while the Athenians and the rest of the left wing from the more distant bay came forth more rapidly, and wheeled round to the right so that, when they were come into line off Cynosura, they formed a single line, running about E.N.E. with the right wing which was there awaiting them. With this array they met the lines of Persians which were now emerging from the straits in several parallel lines directly facing them.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Pers.* 399-401.

<sup>3</sup> I am convinced by the argument of Rhediades that the Persians entered the straits in several short lines, described by Aeschylus as *ῥεύμα* and by Diodorus as *τάξις*, which had to be made still shorter as they passed the narrower parts, — and not in a



In the absence of any reference to more than one Greek line, I have assumed that there was but one. But we have distinct mention of several Persian lines in our accounts. Aeschylus describes the Persians as moving from their blockading stations into the inner bay in a stream (*ῥεύμα*), which at first held its own (*ἀντεῖχεν*), that is, in the open sea before it entered the narrows between Psyttaleia and Attica. But then the multitude of ships were crowded in the straits, and fell into helpless confusion, dashing into one another and crushing the banks of their oars, so that they soon became an easy prey to the skilfully managed Greek ships.<sup>1</sup> Diodorus adds to this, that at first the Persians kept their line as they sailed in, having plenty of open room (i. e. outside of the narrows); but when they entered the straits, they were obliged to remove some of the ships from their line, and this caused great confusion.<sup>2</sup> Herodotus distinctly recognized several lines of Persian ships, when he says that, when the front line was put to flight, those behind them tried to push forward with their ships and were met by their own retreating vessels.<sup>3</sup>

We do not know whether the Persians on emerging from the straits attempted to extend their front by any new movement. Nor do we know whether the ships which were blockading the narrow passage between Psyttaleia and Salamis, or any of them, approached the Greeks by that passage and then helped to extend their lines westward north of Psyttaleia. Rhediades assumes without question that the latter was done: if it was not, the Persian front must have been at a great disadvantage in meeting the longer Greek line. These details become quite unimportant in view of the skilful tactics of the Greeks in taking advantage of the helpless condition of the Persians after the battle began. Aeschylus and Herodotus agree that the battle was begun by an Athenian ship, which (as Aeschylus adds) disabled its Phoenician

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column, as I formerly thought. The passage is less than 4000 feet wide, so that the large fleet cannot be thought of as passing between the rocky shores in three lines: *Pers.* 366 refers only to the arrangements for the night blockade.

<sup>1</sup> *Pers.* 412-420.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. II, 18: τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πλέοντες διετήρουν τὴν τάξιν, ἔχοντες πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν· ὥς δ' εἰς τὸ στενὸν ἦλθον, ἡναγκάζοντο τῶν νεῶν τινὰς ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως ἀποσπᾶν, καὶ πολλὰν ἐποίουν θόρυβον.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. 8, 89.

opponent.<sup>1</sup> This was the signal for a general conflict. Herodotus gives no further continuous account of the progress of the battle; and the description of Aeschylus shows only that the Persians were hopelessly broken up by their unskilful passage of the straits, and were at the mercy of the Greeks, who took every possible advantage of their confusion. The Greeks surrounded them and dashed into them from all sides; while the Persians were at the same time hopelessly disabled by their own ships striking them with their sharp beaks and crushing their banks of oars. This ended in a general disorderly flight of all that remained of the Persian fleet. Night alone closed the scene of slaughter.<sup>2</sup>

Diodorus gives more particulars, which may be in great part authentic. He states that the Persian admiral led his line, and was the first to make an attack, i. e. from the Persian side. He fell after fighting brilliantly. His ship was sunk, and this threw the Persian fleet into confusion. There were then many in command; but they each gave different orders. Therefore they ceased advancing, and began to retreat into the open sea. The Athenians, seeing their confusion, rushed upon them, and rammed some with their beaks and swept away the oars from others. As they could not use their oars, many exposed their sides to the beaks of the enemy and were severely damaged. Therefore they gave up the attempt to escape by backing water, and turned and fled in headlong speed. Diodorus adds that only 40 Greek ships were destroyed, while the Persians lost more than 200, besides those which were captured with their crews.<sup>3</sup>

I have postponed the discussion of a difficult question concerning the two wings of the Persian fleet, to avoid interrupting the discussion of other matters which seem to me more important to the understanding of the battle itself. Herodotus (8, 76) says that Xerxes, during the night before the battle, sent his "west wing" round Salamis to block the north passage. I assumed, as a matter of course, that this designation referred to the position in which the Persian fleet was drawn up in line of battle (*διαταχθέντες*) the day previous, in preparation for a sea-

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<sup>1</sup> *Pers.* 409-411; Hdt. 8, 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Pers.* 417-432. See p. 83 (above).

<sup>3</sup> Diod. 11, 18 and 19; see also Hdt. 8, 89.

fight the next day (8, 70); and I supposed this line to extend from about east to west somewhere south of Psyttaleia and the long point of Salamis. My only reason for placing the line there was that the rest of the line after the west wing was sent away was said by Herodotus to be lying ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ Κυνόσουραν, which (as we have no idea where Κέος was) was probably south of Cynosura, the long point of Salamis. I still think this to be correct, as the first line of battle formed after the ships left Phalerum seems to designate the position of the wings much more naturally than the line of the Attic shore, to which Wheeler refers it. I confess I cannot understand Wheeler's severe charge of inconsistency against my calling different ends of the Persian line the "west wing" on two successive days. We must remember that the "west wing" sent round Salamis the night before the battle could not have been in the battle itself at all, so that in any case the "west wing" in the battle must have been a different body of ships from this.

The passage of Herodotus with which my previous use of "west wing" is thought to be inconsistent is found in 8, 85, after an intermission of eight chapters devoted mainly to an account of the doings of the Greeks on Salamis the night before the battle: κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὗτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσίνός τε καὶ ἑσπέρης κέρας)· κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἴωνες (οὗτοι δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡώ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα). *Opposite the Athenians were posted the Phoenicians (for these held the west wing towards Eleusis): and opposite the Lacedaemonians (were posted) the Ionic Greeks (and these held the wing toward the east and the Piraeus).* Here οὗτοι has (so far as I know) always been referred to the Phoenicians and the Ionians, until Rhediades, apparently without thinking of any other interpretation, referred them to the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians.<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that this brief mention of the two wings directly follows a long account of the plans of the Greeks and their preparations for the battle, with no direct mention of the Persian movements. And it does not introduce any further account of these. I feel very strongly inclined to adopt this view of Rhediades: οὗτοι in parenthesis can quite natur-

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<sup>1</sup> See Rhediades, pp. 23-26. The chief objection to this view seems to me to be the reference of αὐτῶν in the following clause to the Ionians; but the disregard of the parenthesis here may easily be pardoned.



ally be referred to Ἀθηναίους and Λακεδαιμονίους, which are made the more prominent by μὲν δὴ and δὲ; and we thus have a reference to the two wings of the Greeks in the two harbors of Salamis, which were lying, before they went out to the battle, precisely as they are described. If this view is not adopted, I think we must explain the terms "west" and "east" with reference to some position taken by the Persian fleet just after it left Phalerum on the day before the battle, when it may have been at first arranged in a line of which the Phoenicians occupied the west or northwest end.<sup>1</sup>

Diodorus states that the Athenians and Lacedaemonians were on the left Greek wing, and the Aeginetans and Megarians on the right, while Herodotus puts the Lacedaemonians on the right, where they belonged by virtue of their ἡγεμονία. Diodorus places the Phoenicians on the right Persian wing opposite the Athenians, and the Ionians on the left: he never calls the wings *east* and *west*.<sup>2</sup> Rhediades<sup>3</sup> ingeniously accounts for the discrepancy about the Lacedaemonians by supposing that they changed places with the Aeginetans during the manoeuvres by which the two wings, which came from the two small bays at the same time, were united in one line off Cynosura just before the battle began.<sup>2</sup> Herodotus mentions an Aeginetan ship attacking an Ionian ship on the Persian left.<sup>4</sup> Herodotus gives an interesting account of the time when the Persians had taken to flight and were sailing off to Phalerum: then the Athenians in the confusion rammed the enemy's ships which were still in the conflict, while the Aeginetans stationed themselves in the narrow channel, and any ships which escaped the Athenians at once fell into the hands of the Aeginetans.<sup>5</sup> The Aeginetans received the first honors of the sea-fight, and the Athenians the second.<sup>6</sup>

Both Aeschylus and Herodotus narrate the final act of the Greeks, who landed on Psyttaleia and put to death all the noble Persians who

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be what Wheeler approves in p. 132, where he says that "the Persian fleet is always spoken of in terms of the Attic shore against which it was drawn up on the day before the battle." In p. 130 he speaks of this arrangement as being made "in the open sea off Peiraeus."

<sup>2</sup> Diod. 11, 17 and 18.

<sup>3</sup> See Rhediades, pp. 34, 35.

<sup>4</sup> 8, 90.

<sup>5</sup> 8, 91.

<sup>6</sup> 8, 93.



had been landed there the day before. Herodotus mentions Aristides as the leader in this merciless slaughter.<sup>1</sup>

After the battle the Greeks towed to Salamis the wrecks which still remained in the bay, and prepared for another sea-fight which they expected would soon follow. But a west wind drove many of the wrecks over to the shore of Colias on the Attic coast a few miles southeast of Phalerum.<sup>2</sup>

In stating my views of the battle of Salamis in this new form, I have given the arguments on the chief points in greater detail than before, especially those which appear to me to show that none of our ancient authorities support the common view of the position of the Persian fleet along the Attic coast opposite the town of Salamis. To make this as clear as possible and to avoid all possibility of unfairness in presenting the evidence, I have given what I believe to be a true account of all that we find in Aeschylus and Herodotus bearing on the question at issue, with the full text and a translation of the important passages. Then follows my own account of what I believe to have been the real course of events during the day and night before the battle and in the battle itself, always referring to our two chief authorities and also to what is added to the testimony by Plutarch and Diodorus. I wish to avoid the censure cast upon my earlier paper by Wheeler, who calls it "rather an attempt at reconciling with the Aeschylean account two conflicting passages in Herodotus than any attempt at reconciling the two accounts taken as whole." "The account of Herodotus," he adds, "must be interpreted as a whole." But this process, which in my opinion is the only fair one, has necessarily caused repetition, which I have tried to avoid as much as was possible with a due regard to my main object.

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<sup>1</sup> 8, 95.

<sup>2</sup> 8, 96.



## AN UNRECOGNIZED ACTOR IN GREEK COMEDY

BY JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE

IN the *Lysistrata* Aristophanes employs a chorus of unmistakable constitution: its members, twelve elderly men and twelve women, are distinguished from one another by their sex; furthermore, these two divisions, which are easily discriminated by their dress, are hostile to one another during the greater part of the play. Each half of the chorus has its own leader.

These half-choruses appear in the *parodos* of the play in succession: the men come in first (254), under command of their leader; in due course the women follow (319), led by a woman. Each of these parts of the play (254-318 and 319-349) contains verses that are rendered by the single voices of the leaders.<sup>1</sup> Presently (350) a dialogue composed in iambic tetrameters, a rhythm especially suitable for the expression of billingsgate, ensues between the leaders. Their lively abuse of one another ends in violence: the man threatens to set the woman's hair on fire with his torch and she drenches him with water from her pitcher. The other women at the same time souse the other men. This scene has its counterpart towards the end of the play (1014 ff.), but the latter is a scene of reconciliation, and it ends not in violence, but with a kiss.<sup>2</sup>

A debate follows (467-613). In this contest of wits, in which *Lysistrata* establishes the just claim of the women to political leadership in Greece, the leader of the half-chorus of women is equally prominent with the leader of the men: she warns the men to have a care (471-475)<sup>3</sup>; she rallies the women (539-540); she exhorts *Lysistrata* in

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<sup>1</sup> 254-255, 266-270, 281-285, 306-318, 319-320. Here and elsewhere in this discussion the numerals in full faced type indicate parts that I think were taken by the leader of the second half-chorus. I have attempted everywhere to follow Brunck's lining. The parts of a single verse are designated by superior lower-case letters.

<sup>2</sup> The scene ends with 1040-1042, which are recited by the leader of the women.

<sup>3</sup> The manuscripts give these verses to the 'chorus of women,' as do the editors generally, but van Leeuwen assigns them to *Lysistrata*. The four preceding verses are assigned by the manuscripts to the 'chorus of men.'

terms of admiration and confidence to go in and win (549-550). She comes forward also individually in the parabasis<sup>1</sup> in verses that just match those of the rival leader: she meets his threat with counter-threat and ranges her companions in order for the singing of the ode (636-637); she praises her sex and taunts and defies the men (648-657, 696-705).<sup>2</sup>

The divisions of the play thus far considered are all marked by that delicate balance of parts that often in the parodos and always in the debate, the parabasis, and the epirrhematic syzygy unmistakably characterizes an old Attic comedy and distinguishes it structurally from tragedy. But this play, as every other comedy of Aristophanes, contains also single scenes that are not marked by this principle of pairing, but correspond, after a fashion, to the episodes and exodes in tragedy. In these the members of the chorus participate in the action, but without speech; the two leaders, on the contrary, have their share, as occasion arises, in both speech and action.

In the first of these after the parabasis, Lysistrata enters from the Acropolis and is hailed by the leader of the women, who speaks in trimeters (706-707). Lysistrata is disheartened; no reliance can be placed on the women whom she has gathered within the citadel. She is interrupted and eagerly addressed by the leader (710, 712, 714, 716). Other women appear from the main scene and the action proceeds. In the following scene Myrrhine airily abandons her doting husband, and his disappointed passion finds fit expression in anapaests. The leader of the men expresses his sympathy in the same rhythm (959-966) and abuses Myrrhine (968-969):

ταυτὶ μέντοι νυνὶ σ' ἐποίησ'  
ἢ παμβδελυρὰ καὶ παμμυσάρᾳ.

Immediately the leader of the women sharply retorts (970):

μὰ Δί' ἀλλὰ φίλη καὶ παγγλυκερά.

The verse is properly assigned to the 'chorus of women' by the manuscripts, just as they assign the two preceding verses to the 'chorus of

<sup>1</sup> The form of the parabasis in the *Lysistrata* is precisely that of the *Frogs*, except that it is double. See Westphal, *Prolegomena zu Aeschylus Tragödien*, pp. 36 and 38.

<sup>2</sup> On the rendering of the epirrhema and antepirrhema of the parabasis in comedy, see p. 110 f.



men.' Nobody but the leader of the women could properly express the sentiment that this verse (970) conveys. In the episode which begins at verse 1072, the chorus alone at first is present; then Lacedaemonian ambassadors appear, with whose leader a dialogue begins; Athenian envoys enter and the dialogue is continued. The verses here taken by the chorus are assigned by the Ravenna manuscript to the chorus of men, except those just at the close. This is a natural assignment, — not determined certainly by modest considerations of sex, since the women of the chorus have *not* fled from the scene, but by the fact that the other interlocutors are men. But while 1106–1107 are assigned to the chorus of men in this manuscript, it inserts the lineola before 1108, thereby indicating a change of speaker. It is fair to assume that 1108–1111, in which the rhythm changes, were recited by the leader of the chorus of women. They are directly addressed to Lysistrata and express confidence. Cf. 549–550 and 706–707. Both leaders speak in the exode.<sup>1</sup> The servant enters from the Acropolis, the worse for his potations, and, when he sees the chorus, drunkenly threatens to set the women's hair afire (1217 f.), suggesting to the audience at the same time that they may find the spectacle entertaining. The leader of the women, with genial appreciation of the situation, promptly adds that she and the other women are ready to furnish their share of the fun (1221). This verse is assigned to the 'chorus' in the codex Ravennas. Beer saw that only a woman could properly express the sentiment; no short-haired man would serve. Presently, when an Athenian enters from the banquet, the leader of the chorus of men, in a passage of eleven trimeters (1228–1238), supports his view that good liquor promotes fellowship. These verses are assigned to the 'chorus' in the codex Ravennas and the passage is one of the evidences against the prevailing mischievous opinion that no declaimed part of more than a few verses should be assigned to a coryphaeus.

The manuscripts recognize half-choruses in this play, the one of elderly men, the other of women,<sup>2</sup> although both the Mss. and the early

<sup>1</sup> I have discussed the assignment of parts in the exode in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, II (1890), 196 f.

<sup>2</sup> The phraseology in codex R is ἡμιχ(οριον) γυν(αικῶν) before 321 and ἡμιχ(οριον) before 326 (*sic*), elsewhere χο(ρὸς) γερόντων or χο(ρὸς) ἀνδ(ρῶν) and χο(ρὸς) γυν(αικῶν), or in a few instances simply χο(ρὸς).

editions are in sad confusion in their assignment of many of the parts. The scholiast<sup>1</sup> and the modern editors likewise assume that the chorus was divided. Furthermore, Enger, in his edition of the play,<sup>2</sup> speaks of a 'coryphaeus' of the women;<sup>3</sup> Muff, in his assignment of the parts, has a 'Chorführerin' as well as a 'Koryphäus';<sup>4</sup> and finally van Leeuwen inserts 'Dux Mulierum' as well as 'Κορυφαῖος' in his text along with other designations of *dramatis personae*.<sup>5</sup>

The half-choruses of the *Lysistrata* are not peculiar to this play; on the contrary, the division of the chorus of twenty-four members into two half-choruses is, in my opinion, a characteristic feature of the old Attic comedy. Half-choruses are designated in existing manuscripts of Aristophanes and are entered in editions of that author for a period of nearly three hundred years from the Princeps to the time of Brunck; but the record in the manuscripts is scanty and confused,<sup>6</sup> just as the ascription of parts to speakers in the manuscripts is incomplete and inconsistent, chiefly in consequence of the use of compendia for the names of the *dramatis personae* and of the lineola and double dot to indicate change of speaker. Editors of Aristophanes in the nineteenth century inclined to ignore the division into half-choruses, except where it was impossible to do this, and contented themselves with the simple entry *χορός*, with no indication of the precise signification they attached

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schol. 321: πέτου πέτου· νῦν ἔστιν ἡμιχόριον τὸ λέγον ἐκ γυναικῶν εἰσερχομένων ἀνωθεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν καταχέωσιν ἀνωθεν. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἡμιχόριον ἐξ ἀνδρῶν κάτωθεν ἐπερχομένων ταῖς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει εἰς πολιορκίαν.

<sup>2</sup> Published in 1844.

<sup>3</sup> See his notes on 706, 797, 821.

<sup>4</sup> *Ueber den Vortrag der chorischen Parteen bei Aristophanes*, p. 157 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In his edition of the play (1903).

<sup>6</sup> The facts are as follows for the two oldest manuscripts. I use Brunck's lining. Codex Ravennas: Ach. 557 χο 560 ημιχ 562 ημιχ 564 — 566 — 572 λαμαχ 575 χο Vesp. 415 βδε 416 χο 417 — 418 ημιχ 420 ξανθ 422 — *Ibid.* 441 ημιχ 448 φιλ 453 — 456 βδελ 457 ξανθ 458 — 459 οἶκετ 460 — 461 — 463 ημιχ 466 — 471 βδελ 473 — 478 βδελ 480 ημιχ *Ibid.* 1060 ημιχ Pax 1332 ἡμιχο 1333 ἄλλο 1335 — Aves 1720 ημιχ 1731 ἕτερον ἡμιχ Lys. 321 ημιχ γυν 326 ημιχ Ran. 354 ἡμιχορ 372 ημιχο 382 ημιχ ἡ ἱερεὺς 384 ημιχ Ec. 1163 ημιχ 1166<sup>b</sup> ἡμιχ 1167 ημιχ 1178 ημιχ Codex Venetus: Pax 1332 ἡμιχ 1333 ἄλλο (ἡμιχό supra) 1335<sup>a</sup>: 1335<sup>b</sup> — 1336 — 1337 — 1338 — 1339: 1340 — 1343<sup>a</sup> — 1343<sup>b</sup>: 1344 — 1347 — 1348 — 1349: Aves 1720 ἡμιχ 1726 — 1731 ἔτε ἡμιχ Ran. 372 ἡμιχορ ἐστίν — 382 ἡμίχρ 384 ἄλλο με χρ 402 μέοος χρ 416 χρ *Ibid.* 448 ἡμίχρ

to the word. Furthermore, as will appear in the course of this discussion, they sometimes curtailed the functions of the chorus in parts that were not lyrical, in consequence apparently of their belief in a high stage or of preconceptions in regard to what part a 'chorus' might or might not have in dialogue.<sup>1</sup> Some editors, however, recognized the division into half-choruses in other plays than the *Lysistrata*<sup>2</sup> and in one of them at least all are compelled to recognize it.<sup>3</sup>

I refer to the *Acharnians*. In one scene of this play the two halves of the chorus are brought into collision. The scene begins (496 ff.) with the long speech in which Dicaeopolis states the case for Sparta. At the close of his argument he is threatened by the leader of the first half-chorus (557-559), who then angrily addresses the other leader (562-563). The latter, in turn, supports Dicaeopolis (560-561, 564-565). Here the manuscripts mark the parts of the altercation with ἡμυχόριον<sup>4</sup> and the editors follow; but the verses are trimeters and must have been declaimed by single speakers. The conclusion must be that these speakers, corresponding to the man leader and the woman

<sup>1</sup> On half-choruses as a characteristic feature of Greek comedy, see R. Arnoldt, *Die Chorpartien bei Aristophanes*, p. 172 ff.; Th. Zielinski, *Die Gliederung der altattischen Komödie*, p. 249 ff.; A. Couat, *Division du chœur dans les comédies d'Aristophane*, in *Mélanges Henri Weil*, p. 39 ff. See also Christ, *Metrik*<sup>2</sup>, p. 652 ff.; A. Müller, *Griechische Bühnenalterthümer*, p. 219; Haigh, *Attic Theatre*<sup>2</sup>, p. 346. The three authorities last named all cite Arnoldt's statistics (*Chorpartien*, p. 180 f.), but it should be noted that these are not accurate. (See the preceding note.) Only once does codex R prefix ἡμυχόριον to ode or antode of the *parabasis* (Wasps 1060), codex V not at all. Arnoldt's inferences from Bekker's silence in the critical apparatus of his edition were not warranted; but the record of the manuscripts is nevertheless significant, and there is other evidence of the strongest character that in comedy the division of the chorus into half-choruses was the normal arrangement.

<sup>2</sup> As Bekker in his edition (1827), G. Hermann in his second edition of the *Nubes* (1830), and von Velsen in his editions of the *Frogs*, *Ecclesiazusae*, and *Thesmophoriazusae*.

<sup>3</sup> Even Muff. See his *Chorpartien*, p. 98 ff.

<sup>4</sup> 557 ἡμυχ. A Γ E Vp3 C E2 M9 B Vb1 Xop. R om. Vp2 H 560 ἡμυχ. R A Γ E Vp2 Vp3 H C M9 B Vb1 om. E2 562 ἡμυχ. R Γ Vp2 Vp3 H C B Vb1 om. A E2 M9 564 ἡμυχ. Γ E Vp2 H E2 M9 B Vb1 — R om. A Δικ. Vp3 C 566 ἡμυχ. Γ Vp2 H B Vb1 — R om. A E Vp3 C E2 M9 572 Λαμ. R Γ E Vp2 Vp3 H C E2 M9 B Vb1 om. A 575 Xop. R Δικ. Γ E Vp2 Vp3 H C E2 M9 B Vb1 om. A 576 Xop. lib. omn.



leader in the *Lysistrata*, were the coryphaei. The first leader, finally, calls for Lamachus and in his excitement breaks into dochmiacs.<sup>1</sup> Lamachus appears. The second leader jeers him (575) in words presently imitated by Dicaeopolis, and the first charges Dicaeopolis with his offense (576-577). The facts seem to be unmistakable; but if the leaders appear as single speakers in this part of the play it is not unreasonable to assume that they have the same function elsewhere. This assumption is confirmed by the symmetrical arrangement of the first parodos.<sup>2</sup>

My purpose in this paper is to present the evidence that the leader of the second half-chorus, whose existence in Aristophanic comedy is not to be denied, probably had a larger function than has yet been allowed him. I assume that the division into half-choruses was normal. It may be well, before proceeding with the consideration of the second leader's activity in declaimed and recitative parts of the plays, where he was essentially an actor, to note his lyric function. This was larger than that of any other member of the half-chorus to which he belonged, for he was not only leader in the antodes which the members of the second half-chorus sang, or danced and sang, together, but appeared also in the commatic antodes as a soloist, in lyric dialogue with one of the actors. Amoebaeian odes and antodes abound in the comedies of Aristophanes. In some of these the correspondence in ode and antode is not between leader and leader, but between one of the leaders and an actor, as in *Acharnians* 929-939 = 940-951, where in the ode Dicaeopolis sings 936-939 and the second leader four of the corresponding verses, 948-951. It is improbable that the whole half-chorus sang the verses last mentioned, twelve voices responding to one. The melody of the solo in the ode would not be adapted to choral rendering in the antode. We must assume, then, that the single voices of the two leaders here rendered, in ode and antode respectively, the parts assigned to the 'chorus' in the manuscripts. Compare with this 403-429 = 461-487 in the *Wasps*, where the 'chorus' have 403-404 and 416a in the ode

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<sup>1</sup> Vv. 566-571 are not the metrical equivalent of 490-495 and do not, as antode, mark the beginning of the second half of a syzygy.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 120 f.



and Bdelycleon 461-462 and 472<sup>a</sup> in the antode.<sup>1</sup> Verses 406-433 of the *Birds*, although not antistrophic, afford an excellent example of a lyric duo. Here rhythm answers exactly to rhythm in the question and answer of chorus and actor until just at the close of the number.<sup>2</sup> In many of these amoebaeian odes and antodes the correspondence is exact. Here we may feel doubt whether the parts assigned to the 'chorus' were rendered by a single voice or by twelve voices, but the inference from analogy in favor of the dual rendering of ode and antode is confirmed by considerations of meaning. The sentiment is often such that it seems somewhat absurd to assume choral rendering in answer to the solo of an actor. Compare *Acharnians* 1008-1017 = 1037-1046, *Peace* 856-867 = 909-921.<sup>3</sup>

I resume the consideration of those parts of comedy in which verses in declaimed or recitative rhythm assigned to the 'chorus' were rendered by a single voice and were probably taken, in due turn, by one or the other of the leaders of the two half-choruses.

The leader of the second half-chorus certainly seems to take part individually in the paired or epirrhematic portions of comedy. In the debates and syzygies, in particular, the verses assigned to the 'chorus' that immediately follow the antode naturally belong to him. These commonly express exhortation addressed to an actor and correspond in position and sentiment to an equal number of verses that follow the ode. The debate in the *Birds* begins with the customary ode (451-459) rendered by the entire first half-chorus. On its conclusion, the leader of this half-chorus addresses Peithetaerus in words of encouragement (460-461). The epirrhema, in which Peithetaerus convinces the birds of their hereditary right to the sovereignty of the universe, and the macron follow. Then these four parts are repeated in antode, counter-exhortation, antepirrhema, and antimacron. After the antode,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Peace* 459-472 = 486-499; *Thesmophoriazusae* 667-686 = 707-725; *Wasps* 291-302 = 303-316; *Birds* 1313-1322 = 1325-1334, where the manuscripts assign 1315 to Peithetaerus, but 1327 to the 'chorus.'

<sup>2</sup> For the distribution to the two leaders of the half-choruses of the verses here assigned to the 'chorus' in the manuscripts, see below, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> For other examples, cf. *Acharnians* 284-302 = 335-346; *Wasps* 334-345 = 365-378, 526-545 = 631-647; *Peace* 939-955 = 1023-1038. For a discussion of this question, see Zielinski, *Gliederung*, p. 260 ff.

sung by the second half-chorus, the two verses of the counter-exhortation (548-549) immediately follow. These are addressed to Peithetaerus in terms of confidence. They are in the same rhythm as 460-461 and were taken by a single voice. Surely the natural supposition is that they were recited by the leader of the second half-chorus who has just conducted the antode. Instances of this paired function of the leaders are not rare. Compare Knights 407-408 = 333-334, 841-842 = 761-762; Clouds 1034-1035 = 959-960, 1397-1398 = 1351-1352; Wasps 648-649 = 546-547; Lysistrata 549-550 = 484-485. This paired relation of the leaders is sometimes found in epirrhematic syzygies. In the Thesmophoriazusae, after the ode (667-686), two trochaic tetrameters (687-688) recited by the first leader introduce the following trimetrical epirrhema. Corresponding to these are two trochaic tetrameters (726-727) that follow the antode and are taken by the second leader. Compare in the Acharnians 391-392 = 364-365, where the single voices of the leaders are heard in trimeters, following respectively the excited dochmiacs of the entire half-choruses, and Wasps 379-380 = 346-347 in the first parodic syzygy (333-402). Compare also, in the first debate in the Knights, 389-390 = 312-313.

How the epirrhema and antepirrhema of the parabasis in comedy were rendered is a question about which scholars have held divergent views. G. Hermann thought they were recited by the leaders of the two half-choruses who rendered the ode and antode.<sup>1</sup> Enger suggested that they were taken respectively by four members of each half-chorus.<sup>2</sup> Westphal held that ode and epirrhema constituted a single lyrical number and were both rendered by the whole chorus with dance and song.<sup>3</sup> In support of this view that ode and epirrhema were parts of a single whole, he laid weight on what he thought was the intimate logical

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<sup>1</sup> "Et primae quidem tres partes a coryphaeo recitantur; ἐπιρρημα et ἀντεπιρρημα autem a ducibus hemichoriorum." *Epitome Doctrinae Metricae*<sup>4</sup>, p. 240. See also his review of Kolster's *De parabasi* in Jahn's *Jahrbücher*, XI (1829), p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. X (1854), p. 119. Enger assumed that, at the time he made this suggestion, the opinion prevailed generally that the 'coryphaeus' recited both epirrhema and antepirrhema. See also Christ, *Metrik*<sup>2</sup>, p. 667 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Prolegomena zu Aeschylus Tragödien* (1869), p. 40 ff. See also *Allgemeine Theorie der musischen Künste*<sup>3</sup>, III, 1 (*Allgemeine Theorie der griechischen Metrik*), p. 250.

connection between verses 1171 (end of the antode) and 1172 (beginning of the antepirrhema) in the second parabasis of the Peace. But it has been pointed out that this connection is fictitious.<sup>1</sup> A complete sentence ends with 1171 and a new theme—the hardships of war—is taken up in the following antepirrhema. When, furthermore, we consider the contents of the epirrhemata and antepirrhemata of the parabases, it is difficult to believe that they were rendered by twenty-four persons in song, with the accompaniment of the cordax. These were topical addresses to the audience, full of local hits. The first consideration must have been that they should be so rendered that the audience could take the jokes. It must frankly be confessed that this point, as countless other questions which the modern interpreter of Aristophanes must face when he attempts to determine the scenic presentation of a play, cannot be finally settled. Happily these were not questions at all for the audience that gathered in the ancient theatre to *see* the play as well as to hear it. If the simple solution that Hermann proposed is finally adopted, it is obvious that the second leader had a large and important function in the parabasis, although it was inferior to that of the first leader.

So far as I am informed, Hermann did not employ this principle elsewhere than in the epirrhemata of the parabasis; but he went farther, and applying the results of his studies in Aeschylus to Aristophanes affirmed the extreme view that all twenty-four members of the comic chorus might appear in succession as soloists, indifferently in lyric and recitative rhythms, in rendering a continuous passage. He exemplified this view in a well-known article, published in 1843,<sup>2</sup> in which he redistributed the parodos of the Wasps among the members of the chorus and the actors. Arnoldt, after a series of preliminary studies, applied Hermann's principle to eight comedies of Aristophanes in a book<sup>3</sup> whose chief merit, in my opinion, is its acute argument in support of the theory of half-choruses in comedy. Finally, Zielinski in a remarkable investigation<sup>4</sup> rejected Arnoldt's conclusions for the eight plays

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<sup>1</sup> Arnoldt, *Chorpartien*, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> *De choro Vesparum Aristophanis*, *Opuscula* VIII, p. 253 ff.

<sup>3</sup> His *Chorpartien*, cited above.

<sup>4</sup> His *Gliederung der altattischen Komödie*, cited above.



and reverted to Hermann's theory of dual rendering, but applied it — and with serious limitations at that — only to the epirrhematic parts of comedy: parodos, debate, parabasis, and syzygy. A 'coryphaeus,' however, appears elsewhere in comedy, in single scenes, episodes, exodes, and even a prologue, and it is manifestly inconsistent to assume that only one leader has a function in these parts if two are active everywhere else.

The debate is now a recognized division of the old Attic comedy, thanks to the acute observations and investigations of Westphal,<sup>1</sup> Zielinski,<sup>2</sup> and Humphreys.<sup>3</sup> It is a regular feature of the epirrhematic parts of nearly all the complete debates that the two persons at odds appeal to a third, whom they try to convince of the justice of their respective claims, and that this third person with one exception has a speaking part, but relatively a limited part, in the discussion. In the first debate in the *Knights* (303-460) and in the *Birds* (451-637) this third person is the chorus, represented by its two leaders; in the second debate of the *Knights* (756-942), it is Demus; in the *Clouds* (949-1104), Pheidippides, who is present and appealed to, but does not speak; in the *Wasps* (526-727), Philocleon, who is at the same time the second party in the debate, but whom his son is struggling to convince of the error of his ways; in the *Frogs* (895-1098), Dionysus, who is so important a personage that some editors have assigned him the hortatory verses (905-906 and 1004-1005),<sup>4</sup> following the ode and antode, that elsewhere are delivered by the two leaders.<sup>5</sup> Another or even two other speakers, but with inferior parts, may be present, as Demosthenes in the first debate of the *Knights*, the chorus in the second, Euelpides and the Hoopoo in the debate of the *Birds*, and the First Woman and Second Woman in that of the *Lysistrata*.

Zielinski misinterprets this characteristic feature of the epirrhematic parts in the debates and lays down the singular and untenable principle that

<sup>1</sup> *Theorie der musischen Künste*<sup>3</sup>, III, II (*Specielle griechische Metrik*), p. 133 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Gliederung*, p. 9 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *American Journal of Philology*, VIII (1887), p. 179 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The manuscripts give 905-906 to Dionysus, but — so far as they make an assignment — 1004-1005 to the chorus.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 109 f.



the chorus cannot appear in them as a speaker,<sup>1</sup> although the application of this principle forces him to deal with the traditional ascription of parts in the manuscripts in a very arbitrary manner. In the epirrhemata the two debaters hold the floor, — in the Clouds without interruption, although Pheidippides is the person to whom they address their arguments.<sup>2</sup> Why the chorus takes no part here, nor in the second debate in the Knights and in those of the Wasps and Frogs is obvious: it is not the person addressed. In the Birds the situation is different. The debate in this play preserves the prescribed fixed form, but there is in reality a single debater, Peithetaerus. In the epirrhema he endeavors to convince the Birds, namely the chorus, that sovereignty is rightly theirs;<sup>3</sup> in the antepirrhema he develops his plan for securing it. Euelpides is βωμολόχος throughout. It is doubtful whether the Hoopoo should be allowed to speak in the epirrhema at all; if he appears in the antepirrhema, it is as supporter and ally of Peithetaerus.<sup>4</sup> The chorus is the important personage to whom Peithetaerus in both parts addresses himself, and as we should expect the manuscripts recognize its presence as a speaker, exactly as Demus and Dionysus are recognized and take part in the Knights and Frogs. It is the 'chorus' who say at the beginning of the debate: 464<sup>b</sup> δειπνήσομεν μέλλομεν; ἢ τί; 467<sup>b</sup> ἡμεῖς βασιλεῖς; τίνος; 470<sup>b</sup> καὶ γῆς; 470<sup>d</sup> τουτὶ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἐπεπύσμην. Here, as elsewhere in many instances, the manuscripts report

<sup>1</sup> *Die Gliederung*, p. 117 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Clouds 990 πρὸς ταῦτ' ὃ μείρακιον κτέ. 1000 εἰ ταῦτ' ὃ μείρακιον κτέ. 1002 ἀλλ' οὖν λιπαρὸς γε κτέ. 1009 ἣν ταῦτα ποιῆς κτέ. 1071 σκέψαι γὰρ ὃ μείρακιον κτέ. In the Knights Demus is addressed in like manner, and he answers, when occasion requires. Cf. 767 ff., 769 ff., 773 ff., 777 ff., 786 f. (Demus speaks), 790 ff., 820 f., 821<sup>b</sup> f. (Demus), 823 ff., 850 ff., 858 f. (Demus), 860 ff., 868 ff., 870<sup>b</sup> (Demus), 871 f., 873 f. (Demus), 875 ff., 883<sup>b</sup>, 884 ff. (Demus), 891<sup>b</sup> f. (Demus), 893 ff., 895<sup>b</sup> (Demus), 896 ff., 899 (Demus), 900, 901 (Demus), 904<sup>b</sup> f., 906 f., 908, 909, 910, 911<sup>a</sup>, 911<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Note the phraseology in 462: καὶ προπεφύραται λόγος εἰς μοι. This refers to his task in the epirrhema. εἰς is not to be 'emended.'

<sup>4</sup> So far is he from being the other debater, as Zielinski thinks (p. 16). The Hoopoo is thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of the plan even before the chorus appears. Cf. 194-197. Meineke and Kock exclude him altogether from both antepirrhema and epirrhema.

divergent traditions, but there seems to be no doubt that they agree in recognizing the presence of the chorus.<sup>1</sup>

The situation is the same in the first debate in the *Knights* (303-460). After Cleon and his adversary, the most important person in the scene is the chorus, and the manuscripts record the fact.<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes is *βωμολόχος* and has an inferior rôle. Some editions make him unduly prominent.

When now the 'chorus' comes forward in the debates in other than lyric parts, it is reasonable to conclude that it is represented by the two leaders of the half-choruses; the first leader appears in the first half of the debate, and the leader of the other half-chorus in the second.

The same assignment of paired functions occurs in the syzygies, but in these, especially in the trimetrical syzygies, the chorus by the economy of the drama has relatively an unimportant part, except in ode and antode. Nevertheless both leaders appear. In the *Knights* the first leader addresses the Sausage-man (611-614) on his triumphant return from his bout with Cleon before the Senate. This is the leader of the half-chorus that immediately breaks into song and dance. The first leader also has the single verse in the *Wasps* (728) that introduces the following ode. The preceding anapaestic tetrameters (725-727) that end the debate have been recited by the second leader. In the *Peace* the first leader, who has just had an active part in the preceding commatic ode (459-472), participates (479-480) with Trygaeus and Hermes in the following trimetrical dialogue.<sup>3</sup> In the *Birds* the first

<sup>1</sup> The record in eleven manuscripts is as follows. Epirrhema: 464<sup>b</sup> *Xop.* R V Γ M Vp2 H C E2 M9 B om. A 467<sup>b</sup> *Xop.* R A Γ Vp2 H C E2 M9 B : V — M 470<sup>b</sup> *Xop.* R A Vp2 H C : V — M'Επ. Γ E2 M9 B 470<sup>d</sup> *Xop.* R A Vp2 H C — M'Επ. V Γ E2 M9 B 476 *Xop.* A Vp2 H C om. R M — V'Επ. Γ E2 M9 B 511 *Xop.* Vp2 H C Εῦ. ἦ *Xop.* Γ B Εῦ. A E2 M9 om. M — V'Επ. R Antepirrhema: 553 *Xop.* A Γ B om. V M E2 — R'Επ. Vp2 H C M9 555 *Xop.* Vp2 H C om. R V A Γ M E2 M9 B 587<sup>b</sup> *Xop.* Γ Vp2 H C B om. M — R V'Επ. A E2 M9 592 *Xop.* Vp2 H C — R V A M'Επ. Γ E2 M9 B 595<sup>b</sup> *Xop.* Vp2 H C om. M — R V A'Επ. Γ E2 M9 B 603 *Xop.* H C om. Vp2 B — R V A'Επ. Γ M E2 M9 606 *Xop.* Vp2 H C — R V A'Επ. Γ M E2 M9 B 608<sup>b</sup> *Xop.* Vp2 H C om. V A — R M'Επ. Γ E2 M9 B

<sup>2</sup> See the report on the manuscripts in Zacher's edition (1897), v. 337 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In the fourth syzygy of the *Peace* (922-1038) the early editions, including the *Principes* and the first *Juntine*, and most modern editors make the chorus one of the speakers in the dialogue in verses 922-938. Cod. R and Cod. V assign 922 to the *θερά-*

leader, when the messenger leaves the scene and Peithetaerus is lost in reflection, recalls him to the situation (1164-1165), and the second leader delivers the exhortation in trimeters that immediately follow the ode (1196-1198). In the Thesmophoriazusae the first leader prefaces the First Woman's speech with an appropriate remark in iambic tetrameters (381-382). In the first syzygy of the Wasps (334-402), which is parodic, the first leader, when the commatic ode has been sung, continues the dialogue (346-347, 350-351, 354-355) in recitative with Philocleon, with whom he has just been singing a duo. The second leader has verses that correspond, after the antode (379-380, 383-384, 387-388). In the following parodic syzygy (403-525) their respective parts are heavier (403-404, 416<sup>a</sup>, 417-419, 422-425, 428-429, 437, 441-447, 453-455; 473-477, 480-483, 486-487).

Omitting the consideration of the parodos for the present, I proceed to discuss the single or unpaired parts of Attic comedy. In these the fact of the appearance of the second leader as a speaker may seem less certain, since the indications furnished by ode and antode are lacking. The probability, however, that he comes forward actively in these parts in all the plays is supported by three considerations: first, granted that he speaks in the double or paired parts, it would be singular if he should be wholly silent elsewhere; secondly, the evidence is complete and is generally accepted by the editors of Aristophanes that he does appear in two of the plays in unpaired parts;<sup>1</sup> thirdly, the recognition of his

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πρω, 923 to Trygaeus, and thereafter they mark the distribution of parts by the lineola. The verses ordinarily assigned to the chorus should probably be given to the οἰκέρης. The chief reason for this is not that R and V seem to make this assignment, but that slight participation of the chorus in the dialogue is characteristic of the trimetrical syzygies, that is of all except the two parodic syzygies in the Wasps. Dobree first assigned these verses to the οἰκέρης (*Adversaria Critica*, IV, p. 212). The οἰκέρης has a correspondingly important part in the second half of the syzygy. In this some modern editors assign 973<sup>b</sup> and 978-986 to the chorus against the authority of R and V and the second Juntine edition. (The verses are omitted in the Princeps and first Juntine edition.) Similarly in the first syzygy of the Birds, Beer, *Über die Zahl der Schauspieler bei Aristophanes*, p. 37, assigns 809<sup>a</sup>, 811<sup>b</sup>-812, 814<sup>b</sup>-816, 817<sup>b</sup>-819<sup>a</sup>, 820, 826-827, 829-831 (?), 833-835<sup>a</sup>, to the chorus without manuscript authority. He is followed in the main by Muff; van Leeuwen also introduces the Coryphaeus into this scene, excluding the Hoopoo from the action of the play altogether after the parabasis.

<sup>1</sup> Ach. 560-561, 564-565, 575 (see above, p. 107 f.); Lys. 706-707, 710, 712, 714, 716, 970, 1108-1111, 1221 (see above, p. 104 f.).



presence, to which there can be no inherent objection, often lends great vivacity to the action.

Single scenes abound in the comedies of Aristophanes ; they are found in each play, but occur chiefly in the first half of it. With one exception they are trimetrical. They rarely close with an anapaestic or lyric movement, but are so placed in the general scheme of the development of the action as commonly to be followed by verses in another rhythm, frequently by a lyric. The preceding part also generally ends in a different rhythm. The scene may include within its limits inserted lyrics, or parts written in long rhythms, or even passages in prose. The chorus appears in about one half of these scenes as a speaker, the lyrical parts not included. This 'chorus' is sometimes addressed by the actors in the singular number, and is thus individualized. Assuming that 'chorus' in this case signifies not a single coryphaeus but the leaders of the two half-choruses, the distribution of the parts in certain of the plays might be as follows.

In the first scene of the *Knights* (461-497) the leaders are in agreement, as is generally true, and both support the hero of the play. The second leader has just bestowed words of hearty praise (457-460) on him, at the close of the preceding debate, for his gallant struggle against Cleon. In the following dialogue Cleon shows unexpected command of metaphor and the first leader is dismayed (464) ; when the Sausage-man rallies and answers in kind, the second leader breaks forth in joyous approval (470). Towards the close of the scene, when Cleon makes off to lay his case before the Senate, the first leader exhorts the Sausage-man to follow (482-487) and hands him oil (490-491) with which to smear himself for the coming struggle, and the second leader primes him for the fight with garlic (493<sup>a</sup>, 494-495<sup>a</sup>) and bids him God-speed (495<sup>c</sup>-497). The effect of the bustling action of this scene is much increased by assuming three participants. The important fact, which is by no means unique, should here be noted that the last of these verses (from 490) are assigned by all the manuscripts to the chorus, but to Demosthenes by the recent editors, who record that Enger made the 'correction.' The change is doubtless due to a belief in a high stage ;<sup>1</sup> the editors thought the action impossible. But probably both

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<sup>1</sup> See *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, II (1890), p. 173 f.



“old-stagers” (who are coming to be low-stagers) and “no-stagers” will now agree that this is not sufficient reason for refusing to accept the assignment of parts made in the manuscripts. Similarly, in the last scene in this play (1151-1263) some editors refuse to give 1254-1256 to the chorus, although to assign them to Demosthenes brings four actors on the scene at once. These verses, I think, were spoken by the first leader, and the preceding verse (1253) by the second.<sup>1</sup> The representatives of the chorus acclaim Cleon’s conqueror.

In the first scene of the *Peace* (426-458), in which libations are made before the attempt to rescue Peace, actors played the rôles of Trygaeus and Hermes. By the tradition of the manuscripts the chorus also took an important part. If we assume that both leaders spoke, their parts are easily determined. The first leader in serious tone urges Hermes to take direction of their attempt (428-430). He follows the three verses of the prayer offered by Trygaeus with three of similar import (444-446); he forbids libation to Ares (457<sup>a</sup>) and finally gives command to all to lay hold on the ropes (458). The second leader speaks in lighter vein (439-440, 450-453, 455, 457<sup>c</sup>). There is hardly a scene in Aristophanes in which somebody does not play the part of *βωμολόχος*. In the second scene of this play (508-549), in which the final effort to restore Peace is successful, the first leader again has the superior part (508, 512, 517-519); the rôle of the second is subordinate (510, 514-515). The scene is in part lyrical.

In the first scene of the *Birds*, which is short (434-450), probably the second leader alone takes part (442<sup>b</sup>-443<sup>a</sup>, 444<sup>a</sup>, 445-446<sup>a</sup>, 447). Both have been active in the close of the preceding *parodos*. Similarly in the scene that immediately precedes the *parabasis* the second leader probably makes the genial suggestion that Peithetaerus and Euelpides shall be given a good breakfast and Procne be sent out to ‘play with’ the chorus (658<sup>a</sup>, 658<sup>c</sup>-660). The first leader, at the close of the preceding debate, has just recited the anapaestic tetrameters (636-637) that follow the lyric sung by the whole chorus and serve as an introduction to the following scene.

Both leaders have a part in the scene of the *Thesmophoriazusae* in which the sex of the unhappy Mnesilochus is revealed. At the approach

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<sup>1</sup> Cod. A assigns 1253 to the chorus, 1254-1256 to Demosthenes.

of Cleisthenes, the first leader stops the wrangling of Mnesilochus and Micca (571-573) and the second welcomes Cleisthenes with a jest (582-583)<sup>1</sup> and speaks the appropriate verses that follow (589, 607). The first leader takes the situation more seriously (586, 597-602, 613-614).

That part of a comedy which in its form most nearly resembles the single scene which we have been considering has been named 'episode.' The name has been transferred from tragedy and is appropriate in so far as these episodes are always followed at least by an ode and antode (a 'stasimon'), and with a single exception are trimetrical. They do not, however, differ essentially from 'scenes': they are not paired, they are composed in the same rhythm, they may include within their limits lyric or anapaestic passages; but, on the other hand, they are in general longer, they are always followed by a double lyric and they occur only in the second half of the play. In consequence of the fact last stated, the 'coryphaeus' does not often appear in them as a speaker, since this is that part of a comedy in which, after the theme has been revealed and established, it is illustrated by the successive appearance of many characters, who would render active participation of the leaders of the half-choruses, except in lyric commoi, unnecessary or awkward. In the *Birds* only four of the twenty-one characters that speak appear before the parabasis; nineteen appear after it. We observe, therefore, that the leaders' function is almost always confined to the beginning of the episodes. One of them may announce the coming of a new character, as in *Acharnians* 1069-1070, or welcome him immediately on his appearance, as in *Wasps* 1297-1298, or briefly engage him in dialogue at the beginning of the episode when as yet only one actor has appeared, as in *Lysistrata* 706-707, 710, 712, 714, 716. Both leaders may take part, as in the first episode of the *Plutus* (627-770), where the first leader addresses an inquiry (631-632) to Carion when he enters from the house of Chremylus, and shouts with joy in dochmiacs (637) when he answers. Carion continues 'Rejoice ye must, whether ye will (*βοῦ-λῆσθε*) or not,' and the second leader breaks forth (639-640), also in dochmiacs.

The law thus established, that trimetrical participation of the leaders

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<sup>1</sup> ὦ παῖ he says to Cleisthenes, but the first leader (602) ὦ πρόξενε.

of the half-choruses is confined in episodes to the beginning enables us to deal confidently with two doubtful cases. In the first episode of the *Knights* (943-972), Enger assigned 970-971<sup>a</sup> to the chorus and the editors have adopted his change. The manuscripts assign the verses to Demus<sup>1</sup> or to Cleon;<sup>2</sup> no manuscript attributes them to the chorus. They are entirely appropriate to Demus, who is the person on the scene chiefly interested in the oracles. When he says *ἔν' οὐτοσὶ ἀντὼν ἀκούσῃ*, he refers to the first leader who stands near at hand.<sup>3</sup> The Sausage-man has 971<sup>b</sup>. In the fourth episode of the *Plutus* (959-1096), the three oldest manuscripts (R V A) assign 962-963 to the chorus, consistently with the poet's general practice. The following verse announces an introit, and the next two verses (965-966) belong to the person who now enters from the house. The Ravenna manuscript assigns these either to the chorus, which is manifestly impossible, or to an *οἰκέτης*; V gives them to Carion; A U to Chremylus. V assigns 970-971<sup>a</sup> also to Carion, but thereafter gives the corresponding parts persistently to the chorus as far as 1040<sup>b</sup>-1041.<sup>4</sup> We refuse to follow the ascription in V,<sup>5</sup> not only because A consistently assigns all these verses to Chremylus, but also because such participation as this of the chorus as actor cannot be paralleled in any other episode.

The exode of a comedy also is a single part. A 'coryphaeus' appears in the exode in all the comedies of Aristophanes except the *Frogs* and *Plutus*,<sup>6</sup> and here as elsewhere the distribution to the two leaders of the verses assigned to the 'chorus' is made without difficulty and adds vivacity to the action. Compare the dialogue in the *Knights*, followed by the introit of rejuvenated Demus (1319-1320, 1322, 1324, 1329-1330, 1333-1334). In the *Thesmophoriazusae* the leaders conspire with Euripides against the peeler (1164, 1170-1171, 1217, 1218<sup>b</sup>-

<sup>1</sup> Cod. R A Γ Θ M.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. V Vp3.

<sup>3</sup> Compare passages in which one of the leaders is addressed in the singular number, e. g. *Peace* 454, where Trygaeus says *ἐν μόνον λέγε*, and the leader answers *ἐν μόνον λέγω*; cf. also *Birds* 444<sup>b</sup> with 445-446<sup>a</sup>, 447, and note 407.

<sup>4</sup> Except 974 to Carion, 1019 to the Old Woman (where the compendium for *γραῦς* was confused with that for *Χρέμυλος*), and 1021, 1033, where the lineola occurs.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the scribe has confused the compendia for *χορός* and *Χρέμυλος*.

<sup>6</sup> I assume that the last verses in each play were taken by the whole chorus.



1219, 1220b-1221, 1223-1224, 1226). Sometimes the second leader enforces or caps a sentiment just expressed by the other, as in the *Clouds* (1454-1455, 1458-1461) and *Acharnians* (1228, 1230).

The parodoi in Aristophanes vary in form. In each instance the poet has employed the particular form that is best adapted to carry forward the action at this important stage of its development. Here the chorus made its first appearance and dominated the scene. In the earlier plays in particular it often came swinging into the orchestra, probably four abreast and six deep, to the rhythmic movement of long recitative rhythms; but whether it appeared in this compact form or — to pass to the other extreme — in apparent disorder, as in the *Birds*, the division into half-choruses seems to have prevailed. The main parodos in only two plays lacks ode and antode and in each of these it is brief and is immediately followed by a paired part that begins with a lyric.<sup>1</sup> Indications are not lacking that this recognized division of the chorus effected a symmetrical, paired development of the beginnings of some of the parodoi. In the first parodos of the *Acharnians* (204-346), the ode and antode (208-218 = 223-233) are each introduced by four trochaic tetrameters. On conclusion of the antode, some member of the chorus in three trochaic tetrameters (234-236) exhorts his comrades to make search for the offender. Then the warning voice of Dicaeopolis is heard — *εὐφημεῖτε εὐφημεῖτε* — as he enters from his house with his family to celebrate the rural Dionysia, and again three trochaic tetrameters (238-240), in which the speaker enjoins silence and withdrawal from view. The ode and antode were taken by the two half-choruses; it seems probable that their two leaders respectively recited the verses indicated (204-207, 234-236, and 219-222, 238-240).<sup>2</sup> The principle seems to prevail also at the beginning of the resumption of the parodos (Parodos II). When Dicaeopolis has finished the phallic song, the chorus emerges from concealment and the leaders urge an attack upon him, the first in two trochaic dimeters (280-281):

<sup>1</sup> Knights 247-302, immediately followed by the debate; Peace 301-345, immediately followed by a trimetrical syzygy in the order of (1) ode, (2) epirrhema.

<sup>2</sup> It is not without significance that some of the manuscripts insert *ἡμιχόριον* before parts of this parodos, however confused the ascription may be. This assignment is made before 208 and before *οἶμοι* in the same verse in I<sup>1</sup> E Vb1 M9 E2 B; before *οἶμοι* in 208 in Vp2 Vp3.



οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν, οὗτος·  
βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε.

The second takes up the charge, with change of rhythm, in two cretic dimeters (282-283) :

παῖε πᾶς τὸν μιρόν·  
οὐ βαλεῖς; οὐ βαλεῖς;

But parodoi composed in this symmetrical fashion throughout would have been monotonous and not well adapted to express the lively and vigorous action that characterizes this part of comedy. We find, therefore, that exact correspondence ceases in many of the parodoi, when the members of the chorus are once securely in position on the floor of the orchestra, and passes into apparently irregular dialogue. As the chorus in the *Knights* enters, the first leader recites four trochaic tetrameters (247-250). The second leader, marching with him in the front rank, takes the four that follow (251-254).<sup>1</sup> The chorus is hostile to Cleon, and he appeals to the heliasts for help. The first leader assails him in bitter language (258-265); in a moment of weakness he endeavors to propitiate his adversaries, but is at once attacked by the second leader (269-272) and cries out. The first leader taunts him (274) and the Sausage-man comes into the action,<sup>2</sup> gallantly supported by the second leader (276-277). Cleon now faces three opponents. The scene gains in liveliness with numbers.

The parodos of the *Wasps* formed the subject of G. Hermann's special investigation.<sup>3</sup> He distributed the opening verses (230-247) among six members of the chorus, as Starkie later among four.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless only two persons seem here to be characterized, and the characterization is marked. One, who has not yet lost his vigor although he is an elderly man, urges his comrades to make haste, addressing some of them and naming others (230-234). The second, whose mind

<sup>1</sup> Note that his verses begin with ἀλλὰ and cf. Arnoldt, *Chorpartien*, p. 10 and 93; Muff, *Die chorische Technik des Sophocles*, p. 15 f.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscripts assign 258-265, 269-272, 274, 276-277 to the chorus; 266-268, 273 to Cleon; and 275 to the Sausage-man. Cod. Θ assigns 282-283 also to the chorus.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. III.

<sup>4</sup> See his admirable edition of the *Vespae* (1897), pp. xxviii and 19.

dwells on the past, recalls not without pleasure a youthful adventure in Byzantium (235-239). The first interrupts this strain of anecdote and again urges haste and gives a reason. His verses begin with ἀλλ' ἐγκονῶμεν ἄνδρες and end ἀλλὰ σπεύδωμεν ὦνδρες ἥλικες πρὶν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι (240-245). "Aye," says the second, "we must be going, but it is a deuce of a bad road" (246-247). The rhythm now changes, and it is the second leader who talks with the boy that carries the lamp to light the way of the second half-chorus. "'Tis a bad lamp," the old man says with melancholy insistence, "and a bad boy, and foul weather." The other leader, still eager to be going, impatiently wonders why Philocleon fails to join them. He must be roused with a song. The Ravenna manuscript prefixes the lineola to verse 266.

The parodos of the Birds is an excellent illustration of the poet's skill in devising a form suited to the theme. The chorus probably enter in regular formation,<sup>1</sup> but break rank at the εἴσοδος and run chirping and calling in confusion about the orchestra. It seems not unlikely that verses 310-312 and 314-316 (dochmiacs) and 319 were taken by the united chorus. The Hoopoo, in 320-321, repeats his fatal announcement and the two leaders assail him with reproach (322-323<sup>a</sup>, 323<sup>c</sup>, 325<sup>a</sup>, 326<sup>a</sup>). The two half-choruses then rapidly reform for ode and antode; the first half-chorus sings and the second dances, the second sings and the first dances. Presently they advance to the attack (364, 365). At this point the Hoopoo intervenes and the leaders reply (369-370, 373-374, 381-382, 385). In the lyric dialogue that ends the parodos, both leaders take part, the first leader, who has recited the introductory anapaests, beginning (406, 408, 410-411, 414<sup>b</sup>-415, 417-420,<sup>2</sup> 426, 428, 431-433). It can hardly be denied that this lively scene gains in vivacity by giving the second leader a part.

The first parodos of the Peace is extremely vivacious. The chorus has been summoned to rescue the goddess and comes marching into the orchestra joyous and exulting. As in the Acharnians and Knights, each leader has four trochaic tetrameters (301-304, 305-308). The

<sup>1</sup> Six birds are named in verses 297-301, the first file, and six each in verses 302, 303, 304.

<sup>2</sup> Here the number of the verb changes; the second leader is thinking especially of Peithetaerus and says ὁρᾷ τι κτέ. The first leader has previously used plural and dual forms, referring to both the strangers.

chorus forms in separate half-choruses, facing the audience and Trygaeus, who is the only other person on the scene. He deprecates their noisy entrance, in fear that they may rouse the demon of War within, and each leader answers, the second in his joy shouting aloud (311-312, 316-317). Trygaeus again remonstrates with them, whereupon each leader begins to dance, and the half-choruses imitate them in pantomime. The dancing continues through the dialogue, the leaders concerting their movements.

TRYGAEUS (*addressing both leaders*)

'Zounds! you'll surely be our ruin: stop your clamour, I entreat:  
He will by and bye come trampling everything beneath his feet.'

FIRST LEADER (*both leaders begin to dance*)

'Let him stamp, and tramp, and trample, let him do whate'er he will,  
I am so immensely happy that I really can't be still.'

TRYGAEUS (*looking from one to the other in despair*)

'What the mischief! What's the matter? do not, by the Gods, I pray,  
With your dancings and your prancings spoil our noble work today.'

SECOND LEADER

'Really now I didn't mean to: no, I didn't, I declare:  
Quite without my will my ankles will perform this joyous air.'

TRYGAEUS (*addressing the second leader*)

'Well, but don't go on at present; cease your dancing or you'll rue it.'

SECOND LEADER

'Look, observe, I've really ceased it.'

TRYGAEUS

'So you say, but still you do it.'

SECOND LEADER

'Only once I do beseech you; only just a single hop.'

TRYGAEUS

'Well then, one: make haste about it; only one and then you stop.'

FIRST LEADER (*both leaders dance vigorously*)

'Stop? of course we stop with pleasure if 'twill your designs assist.'

TRYGAEUS

'Well, but look: you're still proceeding.'

SECOND LEADER

'Just, by Zeus, one other twist.

Let me fling my right leg upwards, and I'll really then refrain.'

## TRYGAEUS

'This indulgence too I'll grant you, so you don't offend again.'

## FIRST LEADER

'Hah! but here's my left leg also: it must have its turn, 'tis plain —  
I'm so happy, glad, delighted getting rid of arms at last,  
More than if, my youth renewing, I the slough of Age had cast.'<sup>1</sup>

If the theory of the active participation of both leaders in the dialogue is accepted, it affords welcome relief in an unexpected quarter, the prologue of the *Ecclesiazusae*. The chorus gathers at the opening of this comedy before the house of Praxagora and departs thence, at that part of the play where ordinarily the *parodos* begins, to the meeting of the assembly. The manuscripts and earliest editions recognize that three women, besides Praxagora, are present and speak in the prologue. These they designate as *γυνή τις*, *ἑτέρα γυνή*, and *ἄλλη*. In the edition of Portus (1607) these three appear as five, *γυνή τις*, *ἑτέρα γυνή*, *ἄλλη γυνή*, *ἄλλη γυνή*, *ἄλλη γυνή*.<sup>2</sup> Brunck (1783) made the number of women nine, besides Praxagora. Beer reduced these to two, giving verses 30-31, 41-42, 46-47<sup>a</sup>, 86-87, 213<sup>c</sup>, 245-249, 250<sup>b</sup>-251<sup>a</sup>, 252<sup>a</sup>, 254, 256<sup>a</sup>, 258-259<sup>a</sup>, 261, to the "Chorführerin." Bergk (1852) gave 30-31 and 43-45 to the 'chorus.'

The assignment of verses to the chorus by Beer and Bergk is significant. Of the women who speak, whether three or nine, only one besides Praxagora appears from the scene (at 35<sup>b</sup>-40). The rest come into the orchestra through the *εἰσοδος*, and are part of the body of women who subsequently form in two half-choruses (at 285 ff.). Two are needed besides Praxagora and her neighbor, the *γυνή* who appears at 35<sup>b</sup>, to carry forward the action of the prologue. It seems natural to assume that these two women, who were members of the chorus, were the two leaders, as in the *Lysistrata*. On this assumption the parts might be distributed as follows.

Praxagora soon after the opening of the play sees a person approach at a distance with a lamp, and retires from view. This person is the first leader, who exhorts her women as they come trooping into the orchestra (30-31). Praxagora comes forth and chides them (she uses

<sup>1</sup> I avail myself of the version of Mr. Rogers.

<sup>2</sup> See his list of *dramatis personae*.



the plural ἑμᾶς) for being late, and then wakens her neighbor. Other women are seen to be approaching, and Praxagora distinguishes three of them while still at a distance. These other women are to constitute the second half-chorus,<sup>1</sup> and their leader, while still in the εἴσοδος, is heard to urge them to make haste (43-45). Others are recognized and named by the first leader (46-47<sup>a</sup>, 49-50) and by the neighbor. By this time the women who are to constitute the second half-chorus have reached the other group of women, and their leader addresses Praxagora (54-56). Praxagora directs those assembled to sit down, and then asks whether they have made the preparations agreed upon. Both leaders answer in turn (60-64, 65-67). 'And have you your beards ready?' Both reply, one after the other (70, 71). But in their eagerness they have answered simply for themselves; each woman has twice said ἔγωγε, although Lysistrata asked about all the women. She therefore repeats her inquiry. The rest of the chorus nod assent and her neighbor assures her that they are ready. Then the dialogue continues. I have indicated at the appropriate place in the table that begins on the following page what verses may have been taken by the first and second leaders.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> All the twenty-four women, then, who are to constitute the chorus gather in the orchestra at the beginning of the prologue. Presumably they all come from the town (cf. 53), but in furtherance of their deception they purpose to give themselves a rustic air. Praxagora especially advises this (cf. 276 ff.) when she marshals the two half-choruses at the end of the prologue. Her neighbor catches her spirit, and after suggesting that she and Praxagora shall precede the chorus whom Praxagora has now ranged in order (ἀντὶν in 280), she adds that other women besides themselves will be hurrying *from the country* to the place of meeting. Both ode and antode that follow are rustic in tone. When the second half-chorus sing in 300 of 'these fellows from the town,' they speak in their assumed character of countrymen, and are slyly gibing the citymen in the audience. They are not referring to the members of the other half-chorus. The two half-choruses leave the orchestra one after the other.

<sup>2</sup> The neighbor also takes part in the dialogue (35<sup>b</sup>-40, 51-53, 72<sup>b</sup>, 78, 88-89, 90<sup>b</sup>-92, 279<sup>b</sup>-282<sup>a</sup>). Lysistrata has the verses not otherwise assigned.

ASSIGNMENT OF PARTS TO THE LEADERS OF THE HALF-CHORUSES  
IN TEN<sup>1</sup> PLAYS

(The verses assigned to the second leader are in full faced type. Lyric solo parts are in parentheses.)

ACHARNIANS

204-207<sup>2</sup> 219-222 234-236 238-240 280-281<sup>3</sup> 282-283 (285<sup>4</sup>  
287-292 294-295 297-302) 303-304 307-308 311-312 315-316  
319-320 323<sup>a</sup> 324<sup>a</sup> 325<sup>a</sup> 328-330 333-334 (336 338-340 342  
344-346) 364-365<sup>5</sup> 391-392 557-559<sup>6</sup> 560-561 562-563 564-  
565 566-571 575 576-577 626-627 628-658 659-664 676-691<sup>7</sup>  
703-718 (929-931<sup>8</sup> 935 940-942 946 948-951) (1008-1010<sup>9</sup>  
1013 1015-1017 1037-1039 1042 1044-1046) 1069-1070<sup>10</sup>  
1143-1149 1228<sup>11</sup> 1230

KNIGHTS

247-250<sup>12</sup> 251-254 258-265 269-272 274 276-277 312-313<sup>13</sup>  
333-334<sup>13</sup> 337<sup>14</sup> 341 359-360 366 389-390 407-408 421-422  
427-428 436<sup>b</sup>-437 440-441 451<sup>a</sup> 453-456 457-460<sup>15</sup> 464 470  
482-487 490-491 493<sup>a</sup> 494-495<sup>a</sup> 495<sup>c</sup>-497 498-506 507-546  
547-550 565-580<sup>16</sup> 595-610 611-614<sup>17</sup> 761-762<sup>18</sup> 841-842 919-  
922 941-942<sup>18</sup> 1253<sup>16</sup> 1254-1256 1274-1289<sup>20</sup> 1300-1315 1319-  
1320<sup>21</sup> 1322 1324 1329-1330 1333-1334 1381

<sup>1</sup> The Clouds is purposely omitted. In the foregoing discussion I have used for illustration only those parts of this play which it is agreed belonged to the revised edition.

<sup>2</sup> 204-240: p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> 280-283: p. 120 f.

<sup>4</sup> 284-346: p. 109, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> 557-577: p. 107 f.

<sup>7</sup> 676-691 = 703-718: p. 110 f.

<sup>8</sup> 929-951: p. 108.

<sup>9</sup> 1008-1046: p. 109.

<sup>10</sup> p. 118.

<sup>11</sup> p. 120.

<sup>12</sup> 247-277: p. 121.

<sup>13</sup> p. 110.

<sup>14</sup> 335-456: p. 114.

<sup>15</sup> 457-497: p. 116.

<sup>16</sup> 565-580 = 595-610: p. 110 f.

<sup>17</sup> p. 114.

<sup>18</sup> For 943-972, see p. 119.

<sup>19</sup> p. 117.

<sup>20</sup> 1274-1287 = 1300-1315: p. 110 f.

<sup>21</sup> p. 119.

WASPS

230-234<sup>1</sup> 235-239 240-245 246-247 249 251-253 258-265  
266-272 (293-296<sup>2</sup> 298 300-302 309-311 313) (334-335<sup>3</sup>  
338-339 342-345) 346-347<sup>4</sup> 350-351 354-355 (365-366 369-  
370 373-378) 379-380<sup>5</sup> 383-384 387-388 (403-404<sup>6</sup> 416a  
417-419 422-425 428-429) 437 441-447 453-455 (473-477  
480-483 486-487) (526-528<sup>7</sup> 532-537 540-545) 546-547<sup>8</sup>  
(631-633 636-641 644-647) 648-649 725-727<sup>9</sup> 728 863-867  
1015-1050 1051-1059 . 1071-1090<sup>10</sup> 1102-1121 1297-1298<sup>11</sup>  
1516-1517

PEACE

301-304<sup>12</sup> 305-308 311-312 316-317 320-321 324-325 327a  
328 330 331b-332 334-336 428-430<sup>13</sup> 439-440 444-446 450-  
453 455 457a 457c 458 (460<sup>14</sup> 462 469 472) 479-480<sup>15</sup> (490  
496 499) 508<sup>16</sup> 510 (512 514-515 517-519) 556-559 601-602  
617-618 630-631 729-733 734-764 765-774 (856-858<sup>17</sup> 860-  
862 864 909-911 913-915 917)<sup>18</sup> (939-941<sup>19</sup> 943-947 950-955  
1023-1025 1027-1030 1034-1038) 1140-1158<sup>20</sup> 1172-1190 1311  
1316-1328

BIRDS

322-323a<sup>21</sup> 323c 325a 326a 336-338a 352-353 364 365 369-  
370 373-374 381-382 385 400-405 (406<sup>22</sup> 408 410-411 414b-  
415 417-420 426 428 431-433) 442b-443a<sup>23</sup> 444a 445-446a  
447 460-461<sup>24</sup> 464b 467b 470b 470d 476 500a 548-549 553

<sup>1</sup> 230-272: p. 121 f.

<sup>2</sup> 291-316: p. 109, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> 334-378: p. 109, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> 346-347: p. 110; 346-355: p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> 379-388: p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> 403-487: p. 108 f., p. 115.

<sup>7</sup> 526-647: p. 109, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> p. 110.

<sup>9</sup> p. 114.

<sup>10</sup> 1071-1090 = 1102-1121: p. 110 f.

<sup>11</sup> 1297-1298: p. 118.

<sup>12</sup> 301-336: p. 122 f.

<sup>13</sup> 428-458: p. 117.

<sup>14</sup> 459-499: p. 109, n. 1.

<sup>15</sup> p. 114.

<sup>16</sup> 508-519: p. 117.

<sup>17</sup> 856-921: p. 109.

<sup>18</sup> For 922-1038, see p. 114, n. 3.

<sup>19</sup> 939-1038: p. 109, n. 3.

<sup>20</sup> 1140-1158 = 1172-1190: p. 110 f.

<sup>21</sup> 322-433: p. 122.

<sup>22</sup> 406-433: p. 109.

<sup>23</sup> 442b-447: p. 117.

<sup>24</sup> 460-461 = 548-549: p. 109 f.; 460-  
625: p. 113 f.

571-572<sup>a</sup> 587<sup>b</sup> 592 595<sup>b</sup> 606-607<sup>a</sup> 608<sup>b</sup> 626-627 636-637<sup>1</sup>  
 658<sup>a2</sup> 658<sup>c</sup>-660 685-722 723-736 753-768<sup>3</sup> 785-800<sup>4</sup> 1072-  
 1087<sup>5</sup> 1102-1117 1164-1165<sup>6</sup> 1196-1198 (1313-1314<sup>7</sup> 1316  
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<sup>1</sup> 636-637: p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> 658<sup>a</sup>-660: p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> 753-768 = 785-800: p. 110 f.

<sup>4</sup> For 801-902, see p. 114, n. 3 (ad fin.).

<sup>5</sup> 1072-1087 = 1102-1117: p. 110 f.

<sup>6</sup> 1164-1198: p. 115.

<sup>7</sup> 1313-1334: p. 109, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> 254-386: p. 103.

<sup>9</sup> 467-550: p. 103 f.

<sup>10</sup> p. 110.

<sup>11</sup> 614-705: p. 104.

<sup>12</sup> 626-635 = 648-657 and 672-681 = 696-705: p. 110 f.

<sup>13</sup> 706-716: p. 104, p. 118.

<sup>14</sup> 959-970: p. 104.

<sup>15</sup> 1014-1042: p. 103.

<sup>16</sup> 1072-1111: p. 105.

<sup>17</sup> 1221-1238: p. 105.

<sup>18</sup> p. 115.

<sup>19</sup> 571-614: p. 117 f.

<sup>20</sup> 667-686 = 707-725: p. 109, n. 1.

<sup>21</sup> p. 110.

<sup>22</sup> p. 110 f.

<sup>23</sup> p. 119 f.



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30-31<sup>3</sup> 43-45 46-47<sup>a</sup> 49-50 54-56 60-64 65-67 70 71 76-  
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132<sup>a</sup> 132<sup>c</sup> 133<sup>b</sup> 135<sup>b</sup> 136<sup>b</sup>-143 145-146 147<sup>b</sup> 151-155 157  
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<sup>1</sup> 686-705 = 718-737: p. 110 f.

<sup>2</sup> For 905-906 = 1004-1005, see p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> 30-284: p. 124 f.

<sup>4</sup> 631-640: p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> For 959-1096, see p. 119.



## THE ORIGIN OF PLATO'S CAVE

BY JOHN HENRY WRIGHT

### I

THE philosophical meaning of Plato's famous allegory of the Cave has on the whole been correctly apprehended, though the history of its interpretation affords some interesting and amusing examples of inept exegesis. The question, however, of the origin of the similitudes employed in the allegory has not yet been satisfactorily explored. In the suggestions here made on this subject hardly more than probability is claimed for the explanation offered, perhaps not more than a possibility.

The allegory of the Cave is introduced at the opening of the Seventh Book of the *Republic*, in part to explain more fully a simile which Plato has previously employed (in the Sixth Book), that of the Divided Line, the several sections of which stand for the four stages of knowledge and of their respective objects of knowledge ; in part to give a picture which shall clearly illustrate the condition or experiences of human beings from the point of view of their advancement in intelligent apprehension. "Imagine," says Socrates to Glaucon and the other members of the little group at the house of Polemarchus, "a number of men living in an underground habitation like a cave which has an entrance that opens toward daylight. The way into [the lowest part of] the cave is long, and is as wide as is the cave [i. e., the lowest part of it]. Here these men have been in bonds from childhood, their legs and their necks so fastened that they cannot move and can see only before them, being prevented by the chains from turning their heads around. Imagine a bright fire burning at some distance behind and above them, and between this fire and the prisoners a roadway at an elevation ; along this roadway a low wall is constructed like the screens jugglers set up, above which they show their puppets." "I see." "And do you see men carrying past this wall all sorts of vessels that rise above the wall, as

well as statues and various figures of animals made of wood and stone and all kinds of materials ; some of the bearers of these objects, as may be expected, are talking, others silent." "A strange picture, and prisoners strange." "Like ourselves. . . ." Such prisoners would hold that the shadows (of the manufactured objects) which they see moving upon the wall of the cave before them were the only realities. . . . Let us suppose one of the prisoners to be released, to be turned around, and led toward the fire. . . . He would be puzzled at first and would regard his former visions of shadows as truer than the actual objects now forced upon his attention. . . . If then he were dragged reluctantly up the rough and steep ascent of the cavern and brought finally into the light of the Sun he would at first be dazzled, but afterward would become habituated to perceive objects in this upper world, and finally to observe and contemplate the Sun himself ; he would then draw the conclusion that the Sun is the author of the seasons and years, and the guardian of all things in the visible world, and in a manner the cause of all those things that he and his companions used to behold.<sup>1</sup>

A cave that fulfils the requirements of this description would have an elevation something like that indicated in the accompanying cut.

As an allegory the cave carries with it these implications and comparisons : the Cave-World, whose light is a Fire ; the Visible World, whose light and source of both phenomena and perception of phenomena is the Sun ; the Ideal World, whose light and source of both Being and Knowledge is the Form or Idea of the Good.<sup>2</sup>

## II

Where did Plato get this extraordinary figure or picture of the Cave, and of its chained prisoners who behold shadows dancing on the high wall of the cave before them, shadows of figures and images that are borne along a platform or roadway behind them, shadows made by a bright fire higher up ?

It is hardly possible that this picture originated in pure imagination, borrowing no suggestion whatever from without, though imagination must have had much to do in the development of it. The previous discussion as carried on by Socrates, which is recorded in the Sixth

<sup>1</sup> Plat. *Rep.* 7, 514A-516C.

<sup>2</sup> Plat. *Rep.* 7, 517B-C.



Book, of the grades of reality and of knowledge, makes necessary here, if an allegory is to be told, an aspect of life and thought far removed from the high unseen world of the ideal, — obviously deep down below it. The simile of the Divided Line had been used; if one end of this, the end that represents the section of Ideal Truth, is imagined as rising into the empyrean and beyond it, the other end must necessarily sink deep into the earth. Plato assumes these proportions: —

*In the Ideal World*, the truly educated are to those who lack education, as, *in the Visible World*, those who know physical objects are to those who guess

about them, and as,

*in the Cave-World*

[or Fire-light world],

those who distinguish

from the shadows the

objects that cast the

shadows are to those

who take the shadows

for realities. These

proportions would re-

quire Plato merely to

place in fire-light the

people who are at the

lowest stage of knowl-

edge. The purely

imaginative require-

ments for this alle-

gory are, then, a hab-

itation within the

earth, the light of which is fire-light with dancing shadows that are mis-

conceived by the denizens of the place. More than this is not required.

But the allegory actually has many additional features for the origin of which an explanation may very properly be sought.

Was there anything in the popular thought or in literature contemporary or earlier, or anything in Plato's own writings previously composed, that would force this figure upon him or give him any of the specific details and features that make the picture so vivid?



Orphic seers and teachers of the times preceding Plato — with whose visions and doctrine he shows great familiarity<sup>1</sup> — conceived of life in the body as a sort of penitential sojourn on earth, an imprisonment in the flesh — a fate to which souls have been condemned for some ancient crime; <sup>2</sup> deliverance therefrom could come only after many transformations through purifications and other ritual observances. Empedocles<sup>3</sup> in particular — in whom much Orphic lore is gathered, if it did not in large measure, at least for later times, take shape in him — in certain well known passages in the poem which is significantly entitled *Purifications* shadows forth the Orphic view. From the more important of these passages, which though for the most part preserved independently may be woven together in their probable sequence,<sup>4</sup> we gain a picture as follows: —

The poet, speaking in his own person,<sup>5</sup> as one of the fallen souls — spirits who are doomed to the lot of living and wandering for three times ten thousand seasons afar from the Blessed, and of passing through all forms of mortal existence — says that he became an exile from the gods and a wanderer; <sup>6</sup> he became youth and maiden, shrub, and bird

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Diels, *Parmenides*, pp. 12 f., and the index of Adam, *The Republic of Plato* Weber, *Platonische Notizen über Orpheus* (1899), is unsatisfactory. Clear references to the Orphics are found in Plat. *Symp.* 179D, 218B; *Phileb.* 66C; *Crat.* 402B f.; *Rep.* 2, 363C, 364E; *Laws* 4, 715E; *Tim.* 40D.

<sup>2</sup> On incarnation as incarceration see especially *Phaed.* 62B, and *Gorg.* 492E f. The popular Orphic explanation connected σῶμα and σῆμα, but Socrates connects σῶμα with σφῆζω, *Crat.* 400B-C. Though ἐν φρουρᾷ ἐσμὲν οἱ ἄνθρωποι was sometimes understood to mean 'we are on guard,' Ps.-Plat. *Axiach.* 365E gives the meaning currently accepted by the Platonists: ζῶον ἀθάνατον ἐν θνητῷ κατειργμένον φρουρῷ. Cf. Plotin. *Ennead.* 4, 8, 1.

<sup>3</sup> O. Kern, *Archiv f. Geschichte d. Philos.* I, pp. 498 ff. Empedocles's relation to Parmenides, and the latter's to Hesiod and others are sketched by Diels, *Parmenides*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> The contexts in which these scattered verses are preserved, as well as the general drift of the verses, furnish sufficient clues to their probable order. I follow Diels's arrangement of the fragments and also use his numbers: *Poetarum Philosophorum [Graecorum] Fragmenta* (1901), and *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (1903).

<sup>5</sup> *Fr.* 112. Empedocles does not use ψυχή in this sense; the fallen spirits are δαίμονες (*Fr.* 115, 5), with whom the poet — a θεὸς ἀμβροτός (*Fr.* 112, 4) — identifies himself.

<sup>6</sup> *Fr.* 116.

and flashing fish that leaps from the brine; <sup>1</sup> "I wept and wailed when I descried the strange spot" [a grotto-like place where mortal existence was to be passed], and "as I thought from what honor and glorious estate I had fallen thus to dwell among mortals." <sup>2</sup> "*We entered that grotto with its overhanging roof,*" <sup>3</sup> a joyless place, where Murder and Wrath and the troops of other dire Dooms, where parching Diseases and Putrefactions and Floods surged to and fro in the gloom on the field of Atè; <sup>4</sup> where were Mother-Earth, and the far-seeing Goddess of the Sun, blood-stained Discord, Peace with gentle visage, the Dames Beauty, Shame, and Haste, lovely Truth, and dark-haired Uncertainty. <sup>5</sup> . . . From beings of life we were made as it were mere corpses, <sup>6</sup> for she [the goddess Necessity] had compassed us about with the strange vestiture of flesh." <sup>7</sup>

There can be no manner of doubt that Empedocles in general profoundly impressed the imagination, though he seems to have contributed but little to the doctrine, of Plato. <sup>8</sup> There are numerous passages in Plato where reminiscences of Empedocles occur — direct quotations from him and references to him by name, together with allusions and imitations where his name is not mentioned. <sup>9</sup> Earlier passages in the

<sup>1</sup> Fr. 117. ἔλλοπος as an epithet of a fish is enigmatical. The variant ἔμπος is a palaeographical corruption. Possibly Cyril's φαλιδιμος is a gloss which gives its true meaning. This, I take it, is Burnet's view (*Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 234).

<sup>2</sup> Frs. 118, 119.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. 120. This is the Orphic σπέος, as mentioned in the verses cited by Proclus, in *Tim.* 95D, ταῦτα πατήρ ποίησε κατὰ σπέος ἡεροειδές (Abel, *Orphica*, p. 184).

<sup>4</sup> Fr. 121. These verses, like the Orphic verse cited in the preceding note, contain Homeric reminiscences, as of *Od.* 11, 94 and *Il.* 2, 470. For the imagery Diels compares Dem. 25, 52. Men criticized Empedocles for calling the earth the Meadow of Atè: cf., cited by Diels, Themist. *Or.* 13, 178, τὸν ἐπὶ γειὸν τόπον καὶ Ἀτὴς λειμῶνα ἐπονομάζοντα.

<sup>5</sup> Fr. 122.

<sup>6</sup> Fr. 125.

<sup>7</sup> Fr. 126. In this and the preceding fragment the Orphic doctrine that σῶμα is σῆμα is poetically expressed.

<sup>8</sup> We cannot enter into the question how far the Empedoclean element is pure and how far it is due to Parmenides, who inspired Plato sometimes directly, sometimes through Empedocles.

<sup>9</sup> Plat. *Gorg.* 498E; *Phileb.* 59E; *Phaedr.* 235A. The doctrine of Empedocles is referred to in *Meno* 76C. Cf. *Tim.* 45D and *Theaet.* 152E, 156B-E, with *Phaedr.* 251B; also, perhaps, *Phaed.* 96B and 65E; *Symp.* 190A; *Polit.* 270A. See Dümmler, *Akad.*, p. 222.



*Purifications* were the inspiration of that marvellous vision of the ascent of the Souls in their chariots with winged steeds up the vault of the heavens which is described in the *Phaedrus*.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time there are such striking differences between the Grotto of Empedocles and the Cave of Plato that it is improbable that the latter is a close imitation of the former. The Cave of Plato is well in the earth; a deep and steep descent leads into its fire-lit interior, where, apparently in comfortable contentment with their lot, in a long row sit the chained prisoners, a high roadway behind them whereupon moves a constant procession of men carrying images. The Grotto of Empedocles, on the other hand, with its broad overhanging roof is like the caverns of the sea;<sup>2</sup> its light is darkness visible; from it extends in level stretches the great plain of Death, thronged with horrid and mysterious figures, a veritable chamber of Hell.<sup>3</sup> To be sure, the Grotto of Empedocles in the extant fragments is nowhere clearly and fully described, and it might be urged that certain features of the original Grotto, of which the description has not reached us, may have been to a very large extent the source of Plato's detailed imagery. This is unlikely, and principally for two reasons: in their main outlines the two pictures are essentially very different; secondly, one writer, Plotinus, who appears to have had before him the complete text of Empedocles, in speaking on the same page in the *Enneads* of the Grotto of Empedocles and the Cave of Plato makes no mention whatever of any likeness between the two, and in fact intimates that the language of Empedocles owing to its highly poetic form was obscure, a statement that he could not have made had the two descriptions resembled each other.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Phaedr.* 248c ff. Cf. Diels, *Parmenides*, p. 22, and *P. Phil. F.*, pp. 104 and 151.

<sup>2</sup> This conception is perhaps the source of the image in the *Phaedo* (109B) where life on earth is represented as passed not on the real surface of the earth, but at the bottom of a great sea of air.

<sup>3</sup> To the Orphics and Empedocles the earth is the real Hell: *orcus Empedocli est terra* (Diels, *P. Phil. F.*, p. 155; cf. Rhode, *Psyche*<sup>3</sup>, 2, p. 178). The Cave of Death, in Milton's *Paradise Lost* (11, 469-490), repeats and expands some of Empedocles's imagery.

<sup>4</sup> Plotin. *Ennead.* 4, 8, 1. Plotinus here juxtaposes the Grotto of Empedocles and the Cave of Plato. Porphyry, the disciple of Plotinus, similarly puts the two



The conclusion that we must draw from the foregoing consideration of Plato's relation, in the use of the simile of the Cave, to the Orphics and Empedocles, is that Plato found it easy to use human existence in a cave to represent man's life in the flesh, and to conceive such life as that of prisoners. Further than this, at least in the light of our present knowledge, so far as the relation of Plato in this matter to literary originals is concerned, we can hardly go. Various features of the Cave, essential and characteristic, are not found in Plato's literary progeners; these are original with him. While, therefore, we must admit that the figure of *a* Cave is Orphic, that of *the* Cave is distinctly Platonic.<sup>1</sup>

### III

Having drawn the conclusion that the Cave of the Seventh Book of the *Republic* is original with Plato, we may next ask, first, whether there are any distinct references in Plato's earlier writings to grottoes and caves, either imaginary or actual, that might have led him to the amplified simile of the *Republic*; and, secondly, whether there were any caves known to Plato and presumably visited by him that might have been suggestive to him.

The first question must be answered in the negative: no caves or cave-like dwellings that could in any way have been suggestive are elsewhere mentioned by Plato. In the myth of the *Protagoras*, Protagoras tells of the time when the gods fashioned mortal creatures of earth, within the earth (γῆς ἐνδον), and ordered Prometheus and Epimetheus to equip them and to provide them with their proper qualities; for some small animals Epimetheus provided a defence in wings, to others he assigned habitations in the ground (κατάγειον οἴκησιν), whither they

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together, in the passage in the *De Antro Nympharum*, 8, to which we owe the preservation of the clearest reference to the Empedoclean Grotto (*Fr.* 120). Frequently Porphyry is little more than an echo of Plotinus, but here he seems to be independent. To him, as to his master, the chief importance of the two caves is that each is symbolical, that is, of the κόσμος, the terrestrial universe or the theatre of man's mortal existence. Furthermore, in this passage from the *De Antro*, Porphyry gives us confirmation of the fact that the doctrine that the caves were symbolical was believed to be Orphic in origin: ὅτι μὲν οὖν σύμβολον κόσμου τὰ ἄντρα καὶ τῶν ἐγκοσμίων δυνάμεων ἐτίθεντο οἱ θεολόγοι [i. e. the Orphics] διὰ τοῦτου δεδήλωται.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 235 n.

might escape by burrowing.<sup>1</sup> In an earlier passage in the *Republic*, a grotto is referred to in a simile cited from Homer: "Even as bats flit gibbering in the secret place of a wondrous cave (ἄντρον θεσπεσίῳ) . . . so the souls [of the suitors of Penelope] gibbered as they fared forth."<sup>2</sup>

Several times, mainly in the *Phaedrus*, Plato speaks of the cult of the Nymphs and Pan, whose dances — obviously as represented on works of art, paintings or reliefs — were imitated by Bacchic revellers.<sup>3</sup> These divinities often had seats of worship in caves whither came their devotees to do homage in the sacred dance and to make offerings of images and other suitable objects.

There were three famous caves on Greek territory, or rather two single caves and a third group of caves or grottoes, with which we may safely assume Plato to have been familiar. These are the Quarry-Grottoes of Syracuse (the λιθοτομιαί), the Corycian Cave above Delphi, and the Cave of Vari in Attica.

No visitor in Syracuse, where Plato spent several years of alternate hope and disappointment, could have failed to see and visit the Quarry-Grottoes,<sup>4</sup> so fateful and fraught with such painful memories to every Athenian. Here men in chains were for centuries forced to work in excavating stone from the stubborn walls of the deep caverns.

Professor Stewart remarks: "Plato *sees* the Cave and *makes us see* it, and there is much more to be seen there than the mere purpose of the Allegory requires. Perhaps Plato, when he was at Syracuse, saw such a gallery in the stone quarries (there are such galleries still to be seen in the *Latomie* at Syracuse) lighted up with a fire, and the miners — it may be slaves or convicts in chains — working at the far end with

<sup>1</sup> *Protag.* 320E.

<sup>2</sup> *Rep.* 4, 387A (from the *Od.* 24, 6 ff.). In the *Laws* the Cave of Zeus in Crete is twice referred to (625B, 319E); and again in a Homeric citation (*Od.* 9, 112 ff.) the Cyclopes are described as living in caves near the tops of mountains. In the *Republic* the Cave is spoken of as an οἴκησιν κατάγειον (514A, 532B); as σπήλαιον (514A, 515A, 539D), and as σπηλαιωδής (514A). The word σπήλαιον is not elsewhere used by Plato.

<sup>3</sup> *Phaedr.* 253A; *Laws* 7, 815B.

<sup>4</sup> In *Ps.-Plat. Ep.* 2, 314E there is a reference to a man who had been released from the Quarries; but there are no other mentions of these caverns in the Platonic corpus.

their backs to the fire, while their shadows and the shadows of people and things behind them flitted on the walls. Be this as it may, Plato's Cave is a mysterious place. We enter it wondering, and soon forget, in our wonder, that there is 'another meaning.' We acquiesce in what we see — the prisoners among the shadows, and the Redeemer coming down through the dimly-lighted gloom, like Orpheus, to lead them up into the daylight."<sup>1</sup>

But the Syracusan Caves are not within the earth, as was Plato's Cave; the sunlight, though obstructed, reaches into them and the rains and storms beat into them so that, as Thucydides tells us,<sup>2</sup> men that were there imprisoned suffered gravely from exposure. Still, the spectacle of gangs of chained men in these quarries may have suggested to Plato an item or two in his picture.

The Corycian Cave above Delphi was visited by many travellers to Apollo's shrine. Several hundred feet above a wide plateau which lies back of the twin gleaming cliffs of Delphi, and reached from this plateau by a steep and rocky ascent, is the mouth of the Corycian Cave with its many chambers. Though the cave is in the side of the mountain, there is little descent into its "upper end"; in fact it penetrates the mountain horizontally (about two hundred feet), so that from well within it one may look *down* out upon the ground at the mouth. "The effect as you look out from the interior of the gloomy cavern through the grove of stalactites and stalagmites to the green grass and the sunlight at the mouth of the cave is highly picturesque; it is like a fairy grotto."<sup>3</sup> Daylight reaches into the cave, for, as Pausanias says,<sup>4</sup> "you can go a great way through it without lights." In this famous cave were worshipped Pan and the Nymphs, while on the plateau far below torches blazed at night and wild revels took place in honor of these divinities and of Dionysus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Myths of Plato*, p. 252. Stewart's suggestion that the book *Karàβaσις εἰς Αἶδου* (Abel, *Orphica*, p. 214) may have been in Plato's mind when he drew this picture of the Redeemer cannot be accepted, if—as Diels (*Parmenides*, p. 15) appears to prove—this poem contained Platonic elements. If there is any connection between the poem and the *Republic*, the latter rather is the inspiration of the former. Diels suggests that Heracleides Ponticus may have been the author.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. 7, 87.

<sup>3</sup> Frazer, *Pausanias*, 5, pp. 399 f.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 10, 32, 7.

<sup>5</sup> See Frazer's note *ad loc.*



The Corycian Cave, then, as well as the Quarry-Grottoes of Syracuse, lacks many of the essential features of the Platonic Cave.

On the other hand, a cave<sup>1</sup> on Mount Hymettus, near the village of Vari about a dozen miles southward of Athens, has some remarkable peculiarities that constrain one, quite independently of any historical traditions concerning it, to associate it with Plato's Cave. In brief, there is nothing in Plato's Cave that is not found also in the Cave of Vari, and there are no features in the latter — except a single unimportant one, to be mentioned immediately — that are out of keeping with those of the former. The Cave of Vari is deep within the earth; its floor slopes steeply (for about sixty feet) to its lower end, where it becomes level (for about sixteen feet): in front of this level floor rises nearly vertically the back wall of the cave (about fourteen feet high); roughly parallel with this wall and about fourteen feet from it there runs for about eighty feet a *raised platform* faced with stone, its upper level surface being about seven feet above the floor. The width of the cave at its bottom and for nearly half-way up is about the same, though further up, as one approaches the mouth, the cave narrows, so that the ground plan of the interior approaches the shape of an isosceles triangle, instead of the rectangle which Plato would seem to have imagined. This is the only point of divergence. One who ascends from the floor of the cave to its mouth, so as to come out into the light of day, must climb up a steep and difficult slope. The cave is practically dark, very little light from outside penetrating into it; artificial light is needed for visitors, either that of torches or a fire. The latter would need to burn, not at the foot of the cave, whence its smoke rising upward toward the opening would be suffocating, but rather part way up the slope. The excavators found "frequent signs of burned wood and small piles of ashes."<sup>2</sup>

This cave when fully explored in 1901 was found to contain, besides objects noted by former visitors, a multitude of objects, including inscrip-

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<sup>1</sup> This cave was finally and fully explored in February, 1901, by students of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. An excellent history and description of the cave, as well as accounts of the excavations and of the objects found, have appeared in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, VII, 1903, pp. 263-349, under the general editorship of C. H. Weller.

<sup>2</sup> Weller, *l. c.*, p. 278.



tions, that attested the use of the spot as a seat of the cult of Pan, the Nymphs, and Apollo from long before the time of Plato far down into the Christian era. Among the objects of the late fifth century B.C. were several beautiful carved reliefs representing Pan and the Nymphs, as well as charming terra-cotta images and many inscriptions. It would seem that at the time of one Archedemus, who on epigraphical grounds may be dated at about 400 B.C., there was a revival of the cult of the divinities of the place and something of a restoration of their modest shrines. The raised platform, which is in many respects one of the most interesting features of the cave, appears to belong certainly not later than this period. It "would have been a suitable place for the stately dances, possibly past the altar of Pan as portrayed in several of the reliefs. The darkness of the grotto with its flickering lights would have made such a worship weird and impressive in the highest degree."<sup>1</sup>

My theory is, in brief, that Plato has associations with this spot. He had been there; had seen the people dancing in the fire-light, or carrying in solemn procession along the platform various images and other votive objects, all typical of something beyond them; he had seen the shadows of all these figures playing on the wall beyond. Hence, when he came to use the simile of a cave, in the *Republic*, the recollection of the vision of the cave on Mount Hymettus and its strange spectacle of shadows of things themselves as it were but shadows, removed by two stages from reality, crowded in on his mind and shaped and colored his development of the simile.<sup>2</sup>

There is a special reason why Plato should have been here, should have visited the Cave of Vari in his maturer years. An interesting ancient tradition seems to connect Plato with this spot.<sup>3</sup> It emerges into view, apparently independently, in Aelian (A.D. 200) and in Olympiodorus (A.D. 500).<sup>4</sup> Aelian notes that the infant Plato, while his

<sup>1</sup> Weller, *ibid.*, p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> The sketch of the elevation of the Cave described in *Rep.* 7 *ad init.* (see above, p. 133) is actually based on that prepared for the Cave at Vari, by Weller (pl. ii).

<sup>3</sup> Aelian, *V. H.* 10, 21; Olympiod., *Vita Platonis*, p. 383 Westerm. (cf. *Vita Anon.*, p. 390 Westerm., which expands and modifies the tale).

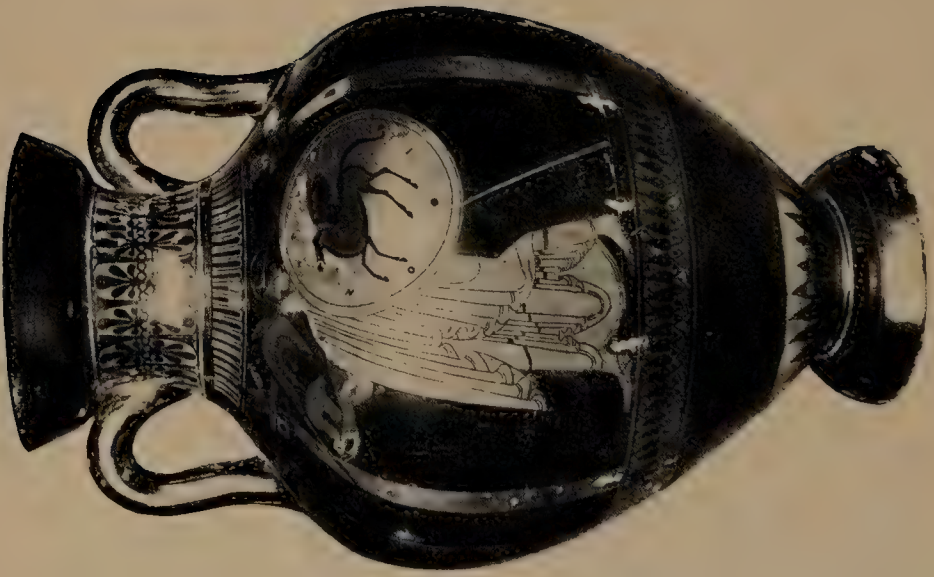
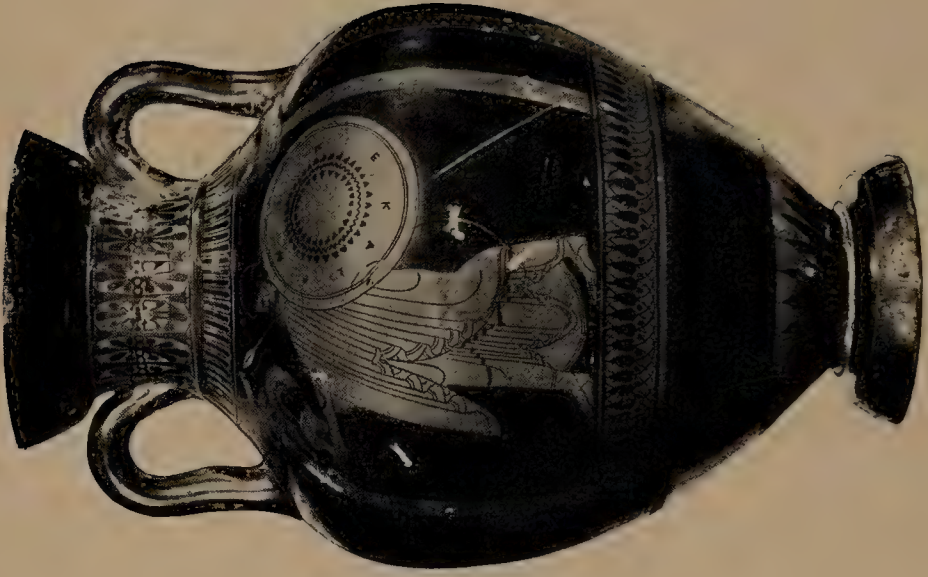
<sup>4</sup> The story of bees alighting on Plato's lips—there musically buzzing or even making honey—is of course widely current in ancient literature (Cicero, *De Div.* 1, 36, who represents the infant Plato as sleeping in his cradle—in *cunis*; Plin. *N. H.*

father was sacrificing "on Hymettus to the Muses or the Nymphs," was visited by a swarm of bees who gathered upon the lips of the sleeping babe and murmured there in prophecy of his future mellifluence. Olympiodorus gives the further items that his parents laid the infant Plato down "on Hymettus," wishing on his behalf to offer sacrifices to the divinities of the place—Pan, the Nymphs, and Apollo Nomios. Now though neither Olympiodorus nor Aelian mentions a cave but only a place "on Hymettus," we must conclude, since there is no other spot "on Hymettus" where Apollo, the Nymphs, and Pan were anciently worshipped together, that the tradition of a visit of the parents of Plato to a shrine of these divinities had reference to this very cave at Vari. Such a tradition has the marks of authenticity. If Plato visited the cave in his infancy, what is more probable than that he should revisit it in later life, and at a time when the mysterious impressions of the place, with its moving figures and flickering shadows, would stamp themselves ineradically upon his memory?

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11, 17; Val. Max. 1, 6, 3, etc.). This tale of the bees, that of the visit to the cave, and that of Plato's divine parentage appear in the same context in Olympiodorus and the *Vita Anon.*, and undoubtedly go back to a very much earlier original. The legend that Plato was the son of Apollo was at least mentioned by Speusippus, Plato's nephew, and by other writers only a little later than Speusippus (Diog. Laert. 3, 2). Speusippus is said by Apuleius to have been *domesticis instructus monumentis* (*De Doctr. Plat.*, p. 46). Is it not probable that this story of Plato's visit as an infant to the cave on Hymettus was a family tradition which was handed down to literature by Speusippus, Plato's sister's son?







## AN AMPHORA WITH A NEW ΚΑΛΟΣ-NAME IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS<sup>1</sup>

BY GEORGE HENRY CHASE

THE vase which is reproduced on the accompanying plate is a red-figured amphora of severe style which was acquired from the Perkins Fund by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1895, and is noted in the Trustees' Report for that year.<sup>2</sup> For permission to publish it I am indebted to Dr. Edward Robinson.

The shape is one which is commoner among black-figured than among red-figured vases,—an amphora with wide mouth, strong shoulder, comparatively narrow foot and cylindrical handles. About the base of the neck a plastic ring in very low relief serves to distinguish the neck from the shoulder. The height is 43.6 cm. The vase was broken and mended in antiquity; traces of this ancient repair appear clearly in the reproduction.

The painted decoration consists of rays at the bottom and a chain palmette pattern on the neck. On each side a panel is set off by a tongue pattern at the top, a lotus-bud pattern at the bottom, and an ivy pattern at the sides. Within this field on both sides Athena is represented, striding to left, between two Ionic columns without base, each surmounted by a cock. The goddess wears a heavy chiton with diploëdion, treated in formal folds, and carries in her right hand an Attic helmet with a high crest, in her left, her shield and spear. The crest of the helmet is decorated with a row of dots, and the sandals are indicated in three cases by the lines of the straps. Applied red is sparingly used,—for the fillets in the hair of the two figures of Athena, for the combs and the wattles of the cocks, and for three broad lines drawn entirely

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<sup>1</sup> The present paper, in a slightly different form, was read at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America at Princeton, January 2, 1903, and a summary of it has been published in the report of the meeting. Cf. *Am. Jour. Arch.* VII (1903), p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts: *Twentieth Annual Report* (Boston, 1896), p. 19, No. 13. The vase is numbered P 6516.

around the vase, one just above the rays, two just below the panels. The style is that of the early severe red-figured vases, characterized by the hard, straight lines of the chiton, the eye in full front, the representation of the hair as a thick mass with only a single curl falling in front of the shoulder, and the inordinate length of the fingers and toes. The way in which the chiton is drawn tightly about the back, so as to show the outline of the leg, is also characteristic of the period.

The influence of the well-known class of Panathenaic amphorae upon our vase is evident at first sight. That the vase is not a Panathenaic amphora, however, is clear from a number of considerations, — the use of the red-figured, instead of the black-figured, technique, the fact that Athena is represented on both sides of the vase, not on the obverse only, the pose of the figures, and the absence of the customary inscription, *τῶν Ἀθηνῆθεν ἀθλῶν*. The name pseudo-Panathenaic amphora, therefore, which is used in the description of the vase in the Trustees' Report for 1895, is correct. It is to be classed with several other red-figured vases which imitate closely the genuine Panathenaic amphorae, and which have sometimes been wrongly associated with them and regarded as true prize vases.<sup>1</sup> The number of these, naturally enough, is not so great as the number of black-figured vases in which the influence of the Panathenaic type can be traced. The makers of imitative wares would naturally copy the technique as well as the style of their models, and the stiff, archaic figure of Athena was not likely to appeal to the rapidly developing painters of red-figured vases. Nevertheless, the influence of the Panathenaic amphorae can be seen in several vases of red-figured style. The best example that I know is an amphora in Athens,<sup>2</sup> in which the decoration (Athena brandishing her lance on one side, representation of a boxing contest on the other) conforms closely to the scheme of the Panathenaic amphorae. The only variation from the Panathenaic type is the addition of an altar in front of the figure of Athena. Another vase very similar to this is also in the National Museum at Athens.<sup>3</sup> Such close imitation as this, however, is unusual

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stephani, *Compte-Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique*, 1876, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Collignon and Couve, *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes*, No. 1169; publ. Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenbilder*, pl. 31, 2a, 2b.

<sup>3</sup> Collignon and Couve, No. 1170.

in red-figured vases. In most cases, the painter does not follow his model so closely, but varies the traditional type in one way or another. So on a red-figured pelike in St. Petersburg,<sup>1</sup> the figure of Athena between pillars surmounted by cocks appears on both sides of the vase, but in neither case is she in the attitude of the Athena of the Panathenaic vases. In one instance she rests her spear upon the ground, in the other she holds her helmet in her hand and her spear leans against her shoulder. In both cases, an altar stands in front of the goddess. Both in conception and in drawing the figures of the St. Petersburg vase are very similar to those of our amphora. The two might very well be the work of the same master.

By far the most interesting features of the Boston vase, however, are the two shields which Athena carries. These are, in both instances, of the round, 'Argolic' type, drawn with the compass, and decorated, near the edge, with inner circles, one on the shield of the figure on the obverse, two on that of the figure on the reverse. Each bears a device and an inscription, one a Pegasus of the ordinary type with the words Πίθων καλή; the other, an ivy-wreath and Νίκη καλή. Of the devices there is little to be said. Both the winged horse and the ivy-wreath are of common occurrence on shields and frequently appear on the shield of Athena.<sup>2</sup> The combination, too, of a device and an inscription upon a shield is not unusual. I have noted two instances in which, as here, both the καλός-name and the adjective καλός are written upon a shield,<sup>3</sup> two in which the name stands on the shield and the adjective is written outside,<sup>4</sup> one in which the name alone appears upon the shield,<sup>5</sup> and no less than eight cases where parts of the formula ὁ παῖς καλός are painted on shields that already have devices.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Klein, *Gr. Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*, 2d ed., p. 121, figs. 32 and 33.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.* XIII, pp. 109 and 127.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum B134, publ. Walters, *Cat. of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, Vol. II, pl. 3; Cab. de Médailles 7892, publ. Hartwig, *Meisterschaften*, p. 132, pl. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Kylix in Heidelberg (cf. Klein, *Liebingsinschriften*, 2d ed., p. 67) and the pelike in St. Petersburg.

<sup>5</sup> Museo Gregoriano 220, publ. *Mus. Greg.*, Vol. II, pl. 71, 4b (1st ed.), pl. 75, 4b (2d ed.); cf. Klein, *Liebingsinschriften*, 2d ed., p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.* XIII, p. 111.



occurrence of such inscriptions on the surface of a shield, in fact, has no more significance than their appearance on stelae and other convenient surfaces.

In this case, however, each of the inscriptions is in a way unique, at least so far as I have been able to discover. For the inscription Νίκη καλή I have been able to find only one parallel, and that not a very close one. The same words appear on a red-figured hydria in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> but they are here placed over a figure of Victory and seem to be only a variation from the common practice of placing the names of figures near them. On the whole, I am inclined to believe that the inscription on the Boston vase is to be traced to the influence of the Panathenaic amphorae which our artist was so evidently copying. Such vases are intimately connected with the idea of victory, and the figure of Nike is frequently represented upon the two columns in late Panathenaic vases, either alone or in company with Athena.<sup>2</sup> It is even possible that the word νίκη in this place has nothing to do with the goddess, that the inscription simply means "Victory is good" or "It's fine to win," or something of the sort. It is noteworthy that the reverse of a Panathenaic amphora in Munich<sup>3</sup> bears the inscription σταδίου ἀνδρῶν νίκη and another in the British Museum<sup>4</sup> has the words Δυ(σ)νεικήτ(ο)υ ἵππος νικᾷ, which are apparently spoken by one of the characters. An inscription of this kind might very well suggest to an artist who was striving for novelty a variation of the usual καλός-formula, such as we find upon our vase.

In the inscription on the obverse of the Boston vase, it is to be noted first of all that this is a new καλός-name. It is not noted by Klein, and I have not found it on any other vase. The name Pithon, in fact, is of comparatively rare occurrence anywhere. It appears in the famous list of the men of the tribe Erechtheis who fell "in Cyprus, in

<sup>1</sup> E 251, cf. Smith, *Cat. of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, Vol. III, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. British Museum B 608, B 610, publ. *Mon.*, Vol. X, pl. 47*b*, 47*d*. Other examples in the Museum of Sèvres and in the Louvre are publ. *ibid.*, pl. 47*c*, 47*g*, and 48.

<sup>3</sup> Jahn, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung König Ludwigs in der Pinakothek zu München*, No. 498; publ. *Mon.*, Vol. I, pl. 22, 4*b*.

<sup>4</sup> B 144, publ. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, pl. 247.



Egypt, in Phoenicia, at Halieis, in Aegina, and at Megara in the same year," probably the year 459/8 B.C.<sup>1</sup> It occurs again in a fragmentary list of names of about the same date.<sup>2</sup> And in a list of victors, presumably in the Panathenaic games, which dates from the first half of the second century B.C., Polyclitus, son of Pithon, of Alexandria, is mentioned as the winner of the contest of the ἀποβάται.<sup>3</sup> In literature, the name rarely appears, and is frequently confused with other forms. Thus two of Alexander's generals apparently bore the name, Pithon, son of Agenor, and Pithon, son of Krateas or Krateuas, but the manuscripts of the authors who mention them give the forms Πείθων and Πύθων as well as Πίθων.<sup>4</sup> The form Πίθωνι, which is read in Pollux<sup>5</sup> for Mss. Πίθων would furnish another example; but this should probably be emended to Πιθῶνι.<sup>6</sup> These are all the occurrences of the name that I have been able to discover. One is tempted to suggest that the Pithon who fell in 459/8 may have been the subject of the inscription on the Boston amphora. His youth would probably fall about the year 490 B.C., the date to which the Boston vase may reasonably be assigned. But this, after all, is no more than a plausible conjecture.

The combination of a feminine adjective with a masculine name in a καλός-inscription is, I think, unique, and its significance may be vari-

<sup>1</sup> *CIA* I, 433, col. 2, line 26. On the date, cf. Busolt, *Gr. Geschichte*, III, p. 305, foot-note.

<sup>2</sup> *CIA* I, 434, line 16.

<sup>3</sup> *CIA* II, 966A, line 35.

<sup>4</sup> The passages in question are: Arrian, *Anab.* 6, 6, 1; 6, 7, 2 f.; 6, 8, 2 f.; 6, 15, 4; 6, 17, 1 ff.; 6, 28, 4; 7, 26, 2; *Ind.* 18, 6; Diodorus, 18, 3, 1; 18, 4, 8; 18, 7, 3; 18, 7, 9; 18, 36, 5; 18, 39, 2; 18, 39, 6; 19, 12, 1; 19, 14, 1; 19, 17, 2; 19, 19, 4; 19, 20, 2; 19, 46, 1; 19, 46, 3; Polyaeus, 4, 6, 14; Photius, pp. 64a, b, 69a, 71b; Plut. *Alex.* 76. Cf. Ellendt's note on Arr. *Anab.* 6, 7, 4. The editors, in general, content themselves with making the readings uniform for the author they are editing. The form Pithon, which is given by Curtius (9, 8, 16; 10, 7, 4; 10, 7, 8; 10, 10, 4), Justin (13, 4, 21), and Trogus (Prol. 13), might, of course, represent either Πίθων or Πείθων in their Greek sources. Two other generals of Alexander who may have borne the name Pithon, are the "son of Sosikles" and the "son of Antigenes." They are mentioned only by Arrian (*Anab.* 4, 16, 6 f.; *Ind.* 15, 10), and the weight of editorial opinion, at all events, favors the reading Πείθων in both cases, so that they are best left out of consideration.

<sup>5</sup> 10, 179.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dindorf's note in his edition, Vol. V, p. 1850.

ously explained.<sup>1</sup> It may be only a careless slip, induced by the Νίκη καλή of the other side. More probably, however, the painter meant to characterize Python as an effeminate young dandy, with perhaps a suggestion of something even more uncomplimentary, just as Aristophanes stigmatizes Cleonymus by changing his name to Κλεωνύμη,<sup>2</sup> and as Horace speaks of Pediatia,<sup>3</sup> Cicero of Egilia,<sup>4</sup> and Tacitus of Gaia Caesar.<sup>5</sup> Whatever be the explanation, the combination is an unusual one and adds materially to the interest and importance of the new καλός-name.

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<sup>1</sup> It is possible, of course, that the inscription should be read not as a nominative but as a vocative, Πίθον καλέ. But such a reading is without parallel among καλός-names.

<sup>2</sup> *Clouds* 680.

<sup>3</sup> *Sat.* 1, 8, 39.

<sup>4</sup> *De Oratore* 2, 277.

<sup>5</sup> *Ann.* 6, 5.

## SACER INTRA NOS SPIRITVS

BY CHARLES POMEROY PARKER

THE forty-first Epistle of Seneca, challenging comparison with Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, is in some danger of being interpreted by our understanding of the Apostle's meaning. Setting aside all thought of modern or Christian ideas we ought to try to interpret Seneca from himself and from the Greek thinkers. It is possible that he may rather throw light on the New Testament writings than they on him; for he was a man familiar with the trend of Greek thought in his own time, and is pretty sure to show us how Greek words would have been understood by thoughtful men in Greek cities. That coloring sure to be given to important words by the readers of Paul's writings is a most influential modifier of the Hebrew thought in his epistles and we ought to look for it there. On the other hand, we can hardly suppose that any of his Hebrew thought was known to Seneca or likely to color a Latin epistle.

The text of the sentence to be discussed, as generally received, is given in Otto Hense's edition of 1898: *Sacer intra nos spiritus sedet, malorum bonorumque nostrorum observator et custos*. The essential meaning of the word *spiritus* is the most important thing, but the construction of the sentence, and its context, must delay us for an instant. *Sacer* would seem to be the emphatic word, and one is tempted to make it a predicate adjective. For the context compares the soul of man to a grove of ancient trees, to a solemn cave in a mountain, to a wonderful river bursting from under ground. All these natural objects fill men with awe and suggest the presence of divinity: *fidem tibi numinis faciet . . . religionis suspitione percutiet . . . magnorum fluminum capita veneramur*. Like these is a man: *si hominem videris interritum periculis . . . non subibit te veneratio eius?* And it is not the man's body which causes this feeling. The body is referred to as *corpusculo*; but *animum excellentem . . . caelestis potentia agitat*. *Non potest res tanta sine adminiculo numinis stare*. The soul is the holy consecrated place, like the grove, the cave, the river. And therefore one is tempted

to render the sentence thus, *The spirit that dwells in us is consecrated to God*; and then, omitting (with **p**, our best Ms.) the *et* before *custos* and understanding *est, its guardian is an observer of all our evil and good*. The *custos* is of course the Divinity who dwells in the soul. The interpretation thus given, as suggested by the context, would be a little easier if we could have the copula *est* instead of *sedet*; and two Mss. well spoken of by Fickert, one of the twelfth and one of the fourteenth century, read *spiritus est, sed et*. More important still is the fact that **p**, which, as we just said, is the best (Paris, n. 8540, an early tenth century Ms.), reads *s&&*,<sup>1</sup> and that Hense's **L** has *sed et*. Both these readings may easily have come from *set et* in some earlier Ms. or Mss., which would be a copyist's mistake for *est et*. After all then Seneca may have written *est* in the first half of the sentence and understood it in the other. But once let the mistake *set* be made, and let it be followed by *et*, a Christian familiar with his Latin Bible *Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis* (I Cor. 3, 16) might easily slip into the parallel *sedet* here; and *sedet* would find vogue thereafter because of the parallel.

If with either reading our interpretation of *spiritus* can hold as meaning the spirit of man, then we have a different metaphor from that in Epistle 31 (§ 11) where the human soul itself is called a god lodging (*hospitantem*) in a human body. There is no reason why Seneca should be held to the same metaphor in two distinct epistles. The whole context in Epistle 41 shows that the soul is the dwelling place, and that *spiritus* means the soul. Moreover, it is not common in Seneca to refer to God as *Spiritus*. He does use the words *caelesti spiritu* in the *Consolatio ad Helviam* (6, § 7), but nowhere else unless here does the essayist use this word in speaking of God. It would be strange then if besides doing so he should add the epithet *sacer*, and thus imitate the second Isaiah (63, 10 and 11), the Psalmist (51, 11, in the Hebrew Bible 51, 13), and the Apostle Paul (I Cor. 6, 19). The combination was a common Christian one of course and Seneca may have heard echoes of it in Rome. Or he may have boldly applied an epithet not uncommon with names of gods to this uncommon word for God and so by chance have paralleled Christianity. It seems less likely. But after all we may have been too urgent on the point. For the main purpose

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<sup>1</sup> Fickert attributed this reading to Par. b (Paris, n. 8539).



of our inquiry it is not necessary to be sure. In any case he believed that man's soul and God were the same in essence. The god who dwelt in the consecrated soul was necessarily himself of the nature of spirit. To the connotation of this word *spiritus* we must now give our attention.

Its meaning in Seneca is essentially a physical one. Its occurrence is most frequent, with him, in the *Naturales Quaestiones*, whose date is presumably not far from that of this epistle. One of the best places for studying the meaning of the word is the little treatise on air which occupies the first eleven chapters of the second book. In chapter 1 we find that *spiritus* is the cause of earthquakes:

Cum motus terrae spiritu fiant, spiritus autem aer sit agitatus, etiamsi subit terras non ibi spectandus est; cogitetur in ea sede in qua illum natura disposuit.

In chapter 6 we find the word used of air in a state of tension, and to it are attributed many wonderful works. Seneca passes from the word *aer* to *spiritus* without the least sense of incongruity.

Intentionem aeris ostendent tibi inflata nec ad ictum cedentia. Ostendant pondera per magnum spatium ablata gestante vento. Ostendunt voces quae remissae claraeque sunt, prout aer se concitavit. Quid enim est vox nisi intentio aeris, ut audiat, linguae formata percussu? quid cursus et motus omnis, nonne intenti spiritus opera sunt? Hic facit vim nervis, velocitatem currentibus.

In this passage Seneca distinctly adopts the Stoic theory of muscular action as defined by Cleanthes, who (as we read in Seneca, epistle 113, § 23), trying to define *quid sit ambulatio*, ait *spiritum esse a principali usque in pedes permissum*. Pearson rightly remarks in his note on this passage (*Fragments of Cleanthes*, 43) that the Greek original of this would be πνεῦμα διατείνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέχρι ποδῶν. The restoration of the word διατείνον is fully justified by the passage which Pearson quotes from Iamblichus, compared with the well-known fact that Cleanthes attached much importance to τόνος. Air in a state of tension extended from soul to muscles. Zeno accounted for voice<sup>1</sup> in the same way (see Pearson, *Fragments of Zeno*, 98), and Seneca

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<sup>1</sup> Similar would seem to be the account of perceptive energy given by the Stoics. See the quotation from Iamblichus, referred to above, in Pearson's note.

evidently has this in mind in the passage just quoted. To him *spiritus* shows itself as truly in muscular energy as in a strong wind; and this does not mean that the wind is what we should now call spiritual, but that muscular energy, *spiritus*, is material. And so he immediately returns to the whirlwind, showing its power in the forest, the city, and the sea; and then comes to tension of breath (*intentione spiritus*) as used in singing, and tension of air in musical instruments. His next illustration of *spiritus* is the life-energy in the seed of a plant:

Parvula admodum semina et quorum exilitas in commissura lapidum locum invenit, in tantum convalescunt ut ingentia saxa deturbent et monumenta dissolvant. Scopulos interim rupesque radices minutissimae ac tenuissimae findunt: hoc quid est aliud quam intentio spiritus sine qua nihil validum est?

The life-energy then of a plant, its soul, to speak in Aristotelian phrase, is *spiritus*. The same thing is true not only of a vegetative soul, but of an animal and a rational soul. For Seneca says almost immediately in the same chapter, while still speaking of *spiritus*:

Corpora nostra inter se cohaerent. Quid (enim) est aliud quod teneret illa quam spiritus? Quid est aliud quo animus noster agitur? Quis est illi motus nisi intentio? Quae intentio nisi ex unitate? Quae unitas nisi haec esset in aere?

Compare *Nat. Quaest.* 2, 10, § 3:

Illo spiritu, qui omnibus animalibus arbustisque ac satis calidus est; nihil enim viveret sine calore.

Now we cannot maintain that while this theory of the human soul was stated in the *Naturales Quaestiones*, because of the physical tone of those inquiries, nevertheless the *Epistles* reject the physical view of the soul. There are indeed traces of Platonic and Pythagorean influence on Seneca, but they do not change his use of the word *spiritus*, nor prevent his using it of the soul, while retaining its material meaning. Consider, for instance, epistle 50, § 6. He is there trying to urge the possibility of moral reform; he does not despair of reforming even hardened natures:

Nihil est quod non expugnet pertinax opera et intenta ac diligens cura. Robora in rectum quamvis flexa revocabis; curvatas trabes calor explicat, et aliter natae in id finguntur quod usus noster exigit; quanto facilius animus accipit formam, flexibilis et omni umore obsequentior.

Quid enim est aliud animus quam quodam modo se habens spiritus? [that is of course πνεῦμά πως ἔχον] Vides autem tanto spiritum esse faciliorem omni alia materia, quanto tenuior est.

This argument is not from the material to the spiritual (in the modern sense), but from one material thing to another. The material nature of *spiritus* is taken for granted, and *spiritus* is obviously the substance of the soul. In epistle 90, § 31, *spiritu* is used literally of the breath of a glass blower.

It is true that the word is rare in the epistles; and this rarity is due to the ethical tone of the work. The very rarity of the word in an ethical work suggests that its meaning is still physical. And when Seneca suddenly introduces it in epistle 41 he must have a physical meaning in it; there has been no adaptation of the word to metaphorical meanings. Over and over again in the *Naturales Quaestiones* it means agitated air; in epistle 50 it has the same meaning. There must be some reason why Seneca values the physical word here, and therefore uses *spiritus* instead of *animus*, or rather, parallel with *animus*.

The first reason lies in the thought of energy connected with the word. Force and power are essential thoughts of this epistle. *Spiritus* strikes the keynote; then in § 5 we have:

*Vis istuc divina descendit. Animum excellentem, moderatum, omnia tamquam minora transeuntem, quicquid timemus optamusque ridentem, caelestis potentia agit.*

In this passage the energetic human soul is connected with divine energy. The same *motif* is felt in the comparison with the free lion in § 6. The meaning of energy in *spiritus* was illustrated above in the analysis of *Nat. Quaest.* 2, 6; but we may insist more strongly on the point. Muscular energy and life-energy were there called *spiritus*; generally we may say that when Seneca wishes to find a cause for any remarkable effect he is likely to fall back on *spiritus*. Observe *Nat. Quaest.* 2, 9, § 2:

Aqua autem quemadmodum sine spiritu posset intendi? Numquid dubitas quin sparsio illa quae ex fundamentis mediae arenae crescens in summum usque amphitheatrum pervenit cum intentione aquae fiat? Atqui nec manus nec ullum aliud tormentum aquam potest mittere aut agere quam spiritus. Huic se commodat, hoc adtollitur inserto et cogente, contra naturam suam multa conatur et adscendit, nata defluere.



The Stoic was not able to form the concept of pure force moving matter; so he imagined air in tension filling the water and carrying it up. Again, just afterwards, when accounting for the buoyant power of water, instead of mere force he puts *spiritus* into it. We must remember that he is writing a treatise on air. He means not pure spirit, as in modern speech, but air in tension pervading water:

Quid? navigia sarcina depressa parum ostendunt non aquam sibi resistere quo minus mergantur sed spiritum? Aqua enim cederet nec posset pondera sustinere nisi ipsa sustineretur.

The same thing is noteworthy when he discusses thunder and lightning later in book 2. The well-known Stoic idea of air changing into fire is brought out (2, 14). Air by moving itself kindles itself, *Ipse enim se movendo accendit* (2, 15). Therefore *spiritus*, which means air in motion, and which is felt in thunder storms and seen to move the clouds, is invoked over and over again in explaining lightning and thunder. Earlier philosophers are called as experts. Aristotle uses the idea of *πνεῦμα* in his explanation (2, 12); so does Anaximenes (2, 17), so Anaximander (2, 18), so Diogenes of Apollonia (2, 20). Then when Seneca comes to his own theory he does not forget this lesson of his teachers, but *spiritus* figures largely in his explanation of the thunder clap (2, 27). And when, by the way, he has occasion to mention volcanic eruptions we find *spiritus* active in the volcano (2, 26, § 5). Indeed, Seneca seems to attribute to *spiritus* all the activities of steam so far as he half guesses them; for the ancients could not tell the difference between air and vapor of water. Then as to earthquakes, various theories of philosophers are given. *Πνεῦμα* is the cause according to Archelaus (6, 12), Aristotle and Theophrastus (6, 13), and others; Democritus (6, 20) mentions it among the causes; Epicurus (6, 20) says no cause is greater; and then Seneca adds (6, 21):

Nobis quoque placet hunc spiritum esse qui possit tanta conari, quo nihil est in rerum natura potentius, nihil acrius, sine quo nec illa quidem quae vehementissima sunt valent. Ignem spiritus concitat. Aquae si ventum detrahas inertes sunt; tunc demum impetum sumunt cum illas agit flatus. Et potest dissipare magna spatia terrarum, et novos montes subiectus extollere, et insulas non ante visas in medio mari ponere. Theren et Therasiam et hanc nostrae aetatis insulam, spectantibus nobis in Aegaeo mari natam, quis dubitet quin in lucem spiritus vexerit?



No passage could show more strongly the idea of energy associated with *spiritus*; and this association made the word useful for the purpose which Seneca had in epistle 41.

Another quality of *spiritus* was that of moving itself and giving itself tension and energy without any external cause. See *Nat. Quaest.* 2, 8 :

Nihil nisi intentione vehementius est, tam mehercule quam nihil intendi ab alio poterit, nisi aliquid per semet fuerit intentum. Dicimus enim eodem modo non posse quicquam ab alio moveri, nisi aliquid fuerit mobile ex semet. Quid autem est quod magis credatur ex se ipso habere intentionem quam spiritus? Hunc intendi quis negabit cum viderit iactari terram cum montibus, tecta murosque, magnas cum populis urbes, cum totis maria litoribus?

This quality of self-caused energy falls in excellently with the lesson which in epistle 41 as elsewhere Seneca preaches,—namely self-reliance. See 41, § 6: *Quis est ergo hic animus? qui nullo bono nisi suo nitet.* This association of the word *spiritus* is helped by the well-known meaning of spirited courage in the word, e. g. Epistle 94, § 46, *magnos animus spiritus concipit ac fiducia impletur*.<sup>1</sup> This note is struck in our epistle by the description of the free lion as *integri spiritus* (41, § 6). But the main idea is of energy whether in lion or man, or even, we may venture to say, in God.

For although the consecrated spirit of man is the theme of the letter, it is sacred because it has the presence and support of divinity, *Non potest res tanta sine adminiculo numinis stare*; and again, speaking of the man's body, *Vis istuc divina descendit*. But in pointing out this we are not returning to the old theory that *sacer spiritus* is the Holy Spirit in a man's body. The whole point of this epistle is that we begin by looking at a good human soul, and then find that there is something more than human in the soul. But the soul's connection with that divine power is of the closest; it is not merely visited at times by a divine influence, or a divine person; it is a part of the divine power. In one sense its real self is divine (41, § 5), *Maiore sui parte illic est unde descendit. Quem ad modum radii solis contingunt quidem terram, sed ibi sunt unde mittuntur, sic animus magnus ac sacer et in hoc demissus ut propius quidem divina nossemus, conversatur quidem nobiscum,*

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<sup>1</sup> Compare *De Ira*, 1, 20, § 5; 2, 21, § 3; 3, 3, § 5.

*sed haeret origini suae: illinc pendet, illuc spectat ac nititur, nostris tamquam melior interest.* So we get the mystic membership with God asserted. But it is not asserted here under the figure of membership, but under the figure of light, and the thought which colors this epistle is the consecrating presence of God in his temple, the human spirit, not membership with God as in epistle 92.<sup>1</sup>

But though God is not called a Spirit in this epistle of ours, yet as being the force and power which has come into and moves the soul, which is indeed the full reality of the soul, God might have been called Spirit. To call him so would have been for Seneca much the same thing as for a modern preacher to describe God as divine Energy, or Force. Only we do need to remember that on Seneca's lips the word *spiritus* would have carried with it the idea also of material substance, of fiery air. The early Stoics with the materialistic basis of their philosophy seem to have been willing to use the word *πνεῦμα* of God. For a useful collection of remarks and references on this subject see Pearson, *Fragments of Cleanthes*, 13. Moreover, Seneca himself in an earlier work, *ad Helviam matrem*, 6, § 7, has used the words *caelesti spiritu*. To account for the restless activity of man's mind he says:

Quod non miraberis si primam eius originem adspexeris; non est ex terreno et gravi concreta corpore; ex illo caelesti spiritu descendit.

And then, as he goes on, we learn what really *caelestium natura* is; and we find that he is talking about the heavenly bodies, especially the sun and moon (*sidera mundum inlustrantia*). We read of their perpetual stir and change, and finally, in § 8, he cries:

I nunc et humanum animum ex isdem quibus divina constant semini-bus compositum moleste ferre transitum ac migrationem puta, cum dei natura adsidua et citatissima conmutatione vel delectet se vel conservet.

Evidently God's nature is here that of the fiery stars, and it is called *spiritu* because of the intense energy of its agitation. As we saw above, the moving air, which is *spiritus*, easily kindled into fire. In this passage of the *ad Helviam* is excellently illustrated the idea of energy in *spiritus* which made it a good word for a forceful human soul in epistle 41, and

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<sup>1</sup> Ep. 92, § 30: Quid est autem cur non existimes in eo divini aliquid existere, qui dei pars est? Totum hoc quo continemur et unum est et deus; et socii sumus eius et membra. Capax est noster animus, perfertur illo, si vitia non deprimant.

the material idea (though of very light and heavenly matter) which might make Seneca very sparing in the use of such a word either for God or the soul. For in his time there had evidently begun a movement of thought which was carrying Stoic minded thinkers away from material philosophy. We see this movement, for instance, in Philo, whose use of the word πνεῦμα is very interesting.

Platonic tendencies would have carried Philo solely to thoughts of God as νοῦς and λόγος, and so on. But he was conscious of the usual meaning of πνεῦμα, and he was forced to deal with the word as being the translation of *ruach* which occurs so often in the Hebrew Scriptures. For instance, commenting on Genesis 2, 7 (ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ζωῆς καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν), he remarks πνευμά ἐστιν ἡ ψυχῆς οὐσία (I, 276, 24).<sup>1</sup> This is good Stoic doctrine in its form, but presently we find that he allegorizes πνεῦμα in contrast with blood (I, 277, 5-10) :

ἡ μὲν οὖν κοινὴ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα δύναμις οὐσίαν ἔλαχεν αἷμα, ἡ δὲ ἐκ τῆς λογικῆς ἀπορρύνεισα πηγῆς τὸ πνεῦμα, οὐκ ἀέρα κινούμενον, ἀλλὰ τύπον τινὰ καὶ χαρακτῆρα θείας δυνάμεως, ἣν ὀνόματι κυρίῳ Μωυσῆς εἰκόνα καλεῖ, δηλῶν ὅτι ἀρχέτυπον μὲν φύσεως λογικῆς ὁ θεός ἐστι, μίμημα δὲ καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα ἄνθρωπος, οὐ τὸ διφυὲς ζῶον ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄριστον εἶδος, ὃ νοῦς καὶ λόγος κέκληται.

Philo, in this passage, still keeps to the consciousness that πνεῦμα implies power, but takes away from it in Genesis 2, 7 all physical meaning, and teaches that it is the power coming from divine Thought to man, and making him an image of divine Reason. This passage stands in complete contrast with that just quoted from the *ad Helviam*. For Thought and Reason with Philo are immaterial. A similar allegory is found in his comment on Genesis 6, 3 (οὐ καταμενεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα μου ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας); he says, II, 46, 7-12 :

λέγεται δὲ θεοῦ πνεῦμα καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον ὃ ῥέων ἀπὸ γῆς τρίτον στοιχεῖον ἐποχούμενον ὕδατι . . . καθ' ἕτερον δὲ τρόπον ἡ ἀκήρατος ἐπιστήμη ἧς πᾶς ὁ σοφὸς εἰκότως μετέχει.

To prove the last proposition he quotes Exodus 31, 2-3. And so here, too, πνεῦμα is allegorized into intellectual life and divine knowl-

<sup>1</sup> The references are to volumes, pages, and lines of Cohn and Wendland's edition.



edge. But we find that it is not permanent in man, πνεῦμα θεῖον μένειν μὲν δυνατόν ἐν ψυχῇ διαμένειν δὲ ἀδύνατον κ.τ.λ. (II, 47, 13-14). The principal reason for the impossibility of a permanent abiding is the flesh.<sup>1</sup> The whole point of view is a complete contrast to Seneca's epistle 41. In Seneca man's spirit, which is energetic, fiery air, is the abiding place of divine Power. In Philo, man's soul, on account of the flesh, cannot be the permanent abiding place of divine Thought. The same idea is found in another form in another passage of Philo, I, 47, 4-7:

ὁ γὰρ ἐνεφύσησεν οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον ἢ πνεῦμα θεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ εὐδαίμονος φύσεως ἐκείνης ἀποικίαν τὴν ἐνθάδε στειλάμενον ἐπ' ὠφελεία τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ἵν' εἰ καὶ θνητόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν ὁρατὴν μερίδα, κατὰ γοῦν τὴν ἀόρατον ἀθανατίζεται.

Here God's Spirit is given to man, and like a Platonic idea conveys to him its own immortality. The philosophy is Platonic not Stoic, and the human spirit is not a member of God, but the divine spirit comes to make a divine colony in man's soul. The passage is not so unlike epistle 41, but there is no especial thought of energy or self-reliance in the soul, and the word spirit is used of God's activity rather than of man's.

Once more, there is an interesting pair of thoughts, beginning in I, 9, 10-12; προνομίας δὲ τό τε πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ φῶς ἡξιοῦτο· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὠνόμασε θεοῦ, διότι ζωτικώτατον τὸ πνεῦμα, ζωῆς δὲ θεὸς αἴτιος κ.τ.λ. Philo is fully conscious of the connection of πνεῦμα with life, but any one who reads the full passage sees at once that he is much more interested in light. The fact is, perhaps, that Plato's influence on Philo draws him away from interest in physical energy, or any kind of energy, to calm intellectual contemplation.

What the full working out of this tendency became when a Platonized Stoic had no Hebrew Scriptures to remind him of a divine spirit we see in Marcus Aurelius. He has dismissed the whole concept of πνεῦμα as physical energy from his philosophy. The word has gone back with him to its meaning of breath. He classes it with flesh rather than with Thought; e. g. in 2, 2, when analyzing himself into his parts, he says:

<sup>1</sup> The whole passage about the incompatibility of flesh and spirit is worth study (47, 18,—50, 5). The spirit here is evidently identical with *vous*.



ὁ τί ποτε τοῦτο εἰμι, σαρκία ἐστὶ καὶ πνεύματιον καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν. He no longer makes the πνεῦμα the sacred temple of the divine power, but with a contemptuous diminutive separates it wholly from the controlling part of him. This is seen very clearly in the same paragraph further down: θέασαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ὅποιον τί ἐστιν· ἄνεμος· οὐδὲ αἰὲν τὸ αὐτό, ἀλλὰ πάσης ὥρας ἐξεμώμενον καὶ πάλιν ῥοφούμενον. Again in 4, 3 we read: οὐκ ἐπιμίγνυται λείως ἢ τραχέως κινουμένῳ πνεύματι ἢ διάνοια, ἐπειδὴν ἅπαξ ἑαυτὴν ἀπολάβῃ καὶ γνωρίσῃ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν. In 12, 3, he analyzes himself again: τρία ἐστὶν ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκας, σωματίον πνεύματιον νοῦς. Comparing this with the analysis quoted above from 2, 2, we see that Thought, not Spirit, was to him the ruling element. Thought is also the only permanent thing, as in 12, 14: κἂν παραφέρῃ σε ὁ κλύδων παραφερέτω τὸ σαρκίδιον, τὸ πνεύματιον, τᾶλλα· τὸν γὰρ νοῦν οὐ παροίσει. In 5, 27, the connection of man with God is touched on: συζῆν θεοῖς· συζῆν δὲ θεοῖς ὁ συνεχῶς δεικνὺς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀρεσκομένην μὲν τοῖς ἀπονεμομένοις, ποιούσαν δὲ ὅσα βούλεται ὁ δαίμων ὃν ἐκάστῳ προστάτην καὶ ἡγεμόνα ὁ Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν, ἀπόσπασμα ἑαυτοῦ· οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκάστου νοῦς καὶ λόγος. In this passage νοῦς or Thought occupies exactly the relation to God which *spiritus* occupies in Seneca's epistle 41. To Marcus Aurelius not energy, but calm thought is the highest state of man. To him Thought rather than Energy is divine.

And even a century before him Seneca is touched with something of the same tendency; he cannot easily in his ethical writings make frequent use of a word so physical as *Spiritus*. In strange contrast to the solitariness of this epistle is the overflowing use of πνεῦμα in the epistles of Paul.

The idea of energy and power which Seneca emphasized now and then was to Paul the very essence of his message. He had no desire to allegorize πνεῦμα into νοῦς as Philo did; for his ruling purpose was life rather than wisdom. Take for instance those passages of the first Epistle to the Corinthians which at first sight have such a resemblance to Seneca. First there is the sentence in 3, 16: οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν οἰκεῖ; The mention of God's spirit comes as naturally here as in Philo, and for the same reason; it is taught both to Paul and to Philo by their Hebrew Scriptures. But this very passage of Paul's epistle proves how different is his attitude to

wisdom. See in the almost immediate context, 3, 18, εἴ τις δοκεῖ σοφὸς εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ μωρὸς γενέσθω, ἵνα γένηται σοφός, ἢ γὰρ σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου μωρία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐστίν. And if this is, as it seems to be, a warning against wisdom brought by Apollos from Alexandria, the contrast is all the more striking. Then again the emphasis is laid on the presence of God's Spirit rather than on the excellence of the soul of man. The other passage is 6, 19. ἣ οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐστίν, οὗ ἔχετε ἀπὸ θεοῦ; The Spirit here is the same spirit as in 3, 16, namely, τοῦ θεοῦ, and the use of this adjective ἁγίου in connection with πνεύματος is perfectly natural to a man of Isaiah's nation.

The energy of God's holy spirit is set forth in sharp contrast to the sins of the flesh; but it is as energy that the Spirit is opposed to the enslaving flesh, not as abstract Platonic thought (νοῦς), or as modern mystical personality. Such ideas were not naturally contained in the word πνεῦμα in the first century, nor were they naturally in the Hebrew writings unless a Platonist interpreted them. But the meaning of energy in πνεῦμα fits in admirably with the meaning of the Hebrew *ruach*, which is not mere Thought, or Personality in its depths, but life and power. The saying of Jesus, for instance (John 4, 24), of which our discussion naturally reminds us, when given in its Greek translation, πνεῦμα ὁ θεός, must have much the same meaning that any unPlatonized Hebrew would have given it in any dialect. In meeting the narrow thought which limits God's presence to Jerusalem or Samaria, Jesus spoke words which in those days meant not that God is above matter, time, and space, but that he is an Energy pervading the world, and that those who worship must do so with the energetic soul and with reality, because he is the real omnipresent Energy. In this way elsewhere we should do well to use the ascertained meaning of Spirit in the first century to interpret those Christian writings which appealed so strongly to many thoughtful Greeks at that time.

## VALERIUS ANTIAS AND LIVY

BY ALBERT A. HOWARD

HOPELESS as the task may appear of attempting to say anything new on this much discussed subject, it has nevertheless seemed to me not over presumptuous to review the evidence on which is based the ever-recurring<sup>1</sup> statement that Livy's great work is largely composed of extracts from Valerius Antias, whom Livy blindly followed in the earlier part of his history and later with greater caution, having become convinced of his untrustworthiness. We are even told that Livy practically made use of the work of Antias as a framework or skeleton on which to construct his history, and one writer, Soltau,<sup>2</sup> has gone so far as to indicate by chapter and section the portions of Livy in the first and third decades of his work which are drawn from Antias.

What we actually know about Antias and his history is derived from the fact that he is mentioned some seventy times in extant Greek and Latin writers, nine times for grammatical peculiarities, and the remaining times as authority for historical or legendary statements. Rarely are his exact words quoted, and, as occasionally two or more of the references in authors are to the same event, all have been combined into sixty-five so-called fragments by H. Peter, *Veterum Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae*, Leipzig, 1870, pp. 237-276.

From these fragments we learn that the work of Valerius Antias comprised at least seventy-five books, and that Numa Pompilius was treated in the second book (cf. Fragments 5, 6, 8); that events of the year 136 B.C. were mentioned in the twenty-second book (cf. Fragment 57); and that the heirs of L. Crassus, the orator, who died in 91 B.C., are mentioned in the history, though in which book we are not told (cf. Fragment 64). It is also possible to arrange chronologically the greater

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<sup>1</sup> Teuffel-Schwabe, *Römische Literatur*, 155, 3. Schanz, *Römische Literaturgeschichte*, 325.

<sup>2</sup> W. Soltau, *Livius' Geschichtswerk*, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 207-9.

number of the remaining fragments, but impossible to assign them to definite books. We also know from numerous statements of Livy (cf. p. 182) that Antias was prone to exaggeration, particularly in stating numbers, a fault which is however by no means confined to his history. It is generally assumed that Livy is indebted to Antias for the exaggerated statements of numbers in his first decade, but, in fact, Livy mentions Antias only twice in the first decade: once in 3, 5, 12, where he shows an utter lack of confidence in his numbers, and again in 4, 23, 2, where he quotes Antias and Tubero as naming for the year 434 B.C. different consuls from those named by Licinius Macer, himself stating the impossibility of determining the facts. The instances cited by Teuffel-Schwabe, 155, 3 (Livy 7, 36, 13; 9, 27, 14; 9, 37, 11; 9, 43, 17), in which Livy is quoted as depending on Antias, are absolutely without authority; Antias is not mentioned in any one of them, and there is no actual evidence that he ever used the numbers thus assigned to him, or that he even wrote about the events in question. Merely because large numbers are mentioned it is assumed that they must have been taken from Antias.

It would, of course, be absurd to deny that Livy made use of the history of Valerius, which was undoubtedly the best known and most popular history of Rome until that of Livy supplanted it, but, as I hope to show, the evidence that Livy was deceived by its extravagant statements to such an extent that he slavishly copied exorbitant numbers and absurd tales, until finally he discovered that Antias was not to be trusted, is simply non-existent, while the evidence that Livy used the works of Antias with caution and did not regard his history as an accurate source of information unless its statements were corroborated by other historians, is to be found in nearly every one of the so-called fragments of Antias when compared with the corresponding portions of Livy.

As to the dependence of Livy on Antias in the first ten books of his history the following facts may be adduced: the first twenty fragments of Antias in the edition of Peter relate to events falling within the period treated by Livy in the first decade. The first fragment, drawn from Gellius 7, 7, 1, attributes to Antias the statement that Acca Larentia left to Romulus by will her property, whereas Livy does not even record the fact that she made a will. The second fragment is



from Dionysius 2, 13, and explains the name Celeres as derived from the name of the leader of the body-guard of the king. Livy has made no attempt to account for this name. The third fragment, derived from Plutarch, *Romulus* 14, gives the number of the Sabine women who were seized by the Romans as 527. Livy does not attempt to give any number, but in 1, 13, 6, when stating that the curiae received their names from the Sabine women who were captured, he assumes that the number must have been somewhat greater than thirty.

The fourth fragment, from Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1, 4, 7, reports Julius Modestus as authority for the statement that Antias names Numa as the founder of the Agonalia; the fifth, from Macrobius 1, 13, 20, states that Numa invented intercalation for religious reasons, neither of which reports is even referred to by Livy. In the sixth fragment, from Arnobius 5, 1, is contained the account of Numa's successful attempt to get from the gods the knowledge of the rites to be used in allaying the evil effects of lightning, a story which is also told with no variations by Plutarch in the life of *Numa* 15, 3 ff., though without mentioning Antias as the source. This story is not even alluded to by Livy, though that it was current in his time is shown by the fact that it is found, almost without change, in Ovid's *Fasti* 3, 285-348.

The seventh fragment, from Plutarch, *Numa* 22, the eighth and the fifteenth, from Pliny, *N. H.* 13, 87, and the ninth, from Livy 40, 29, 8, deal with the story of the finding of the stone chests, one of which contained the books of Numa. According to Plutarch, Valerius Antias writes that the books which were buried in the chest were twelve volumes of holy writ and twelve others of Greek philosophy, and that about four hundred years afterwards, when P. Cornelius and M. Baebius were consuls, in a time of heavy rains, a violent torrent washed away the earth, and dislodged the chests of stone; and their covers falling off, one of them was found wholly empty, without the least relic of any human body; in the other were the books, which the praetor Petilius having read and perused, made oath in the senate that, in his opinion, it was not fit for their contents to be made public; whereupon the volumes were all carried to the Comitium and there burned. Pliny also quotes Antias as stating that there were twelve books in Latin and twelve of Greek philosophy. Livy states that Antias says of the Greek books *Pythagoricos fuisse, vulgatae opinioni, qua creditur Pythagorae*

*auditorem fuisse Numam, mendacio probabili adcommodata fide.* Livy's own account of the finding of these chests (40, 29) differs from that of Antias in the following details: the chests were unearthed by laborers who were tilling a field; the owner of the field uncovered them; there were seven books in Latin and seven in Greek; the books were read by a number of people and became pretty well known before the praetor read them; the Greek books did not contain any Pythagorean doctrine and could not, for, as Livy had already shown (1, 18, 2), Pythagoras lived more than one hundred years later than Numa. There are a good many other details in the account of Livy which may or may not have come from Antias, but every detail found in the account of Antias is discredited by Livy.

The tenth fragment, from Valerius Maximus, *de praenom.* 4, states that the name Ancus was due to the fact that Ancus had a deformed elbow, which in Greek is called ἀγκών; Livy is silent on this point.

The eleventh fragment, from Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 70, states that when the Latin town Apiolae was captured by Tarquin he began the Capitol with the proceeds of the booty. Livy 1, 35, 7, says that the booty of this town was used for *ludi opulentius instructiusque quam priores reges fecerant.*

The twelfth fragment, from Plutarch, *de fortuna Rom.* 10, gives an extensive account of the miracles attending the birth of Servius Tullius, attributing his paternity to Vulcan or to the Lar familiaris, and, at variance with all other accounts, assigns the miracle of the fire playing about his head to a later period of his life when he was grieving for the death of his wife Getania. Livy and all the other writers refer this miracle to his infancy. Livy says nothing about the other miracles attending his birth and does not mention Oeresia or Getania, who appear in Antias as mother and wife respectively of Servius.

The derivation of the name Capitolium (caput Oli) of the thirteenth fragment, from Arnobius 6, 7, which is found in several other Roman writers, is not known to Livy or, at least, not thought worthy of mention by him, although he does tell of the finding of the head during the excavations for the foundations of the Capitol and of the prophecies relating to this discovery.

Two short fragments, the fourteenth, from Charisius 2, p. 208 *K*, and the sixteenth, from Priscian 7, p. 347 *H*, preserve the actual words of

Antias, but as they merely note peculiarities of grammar and can not be connected with any known historical event, they are of no value for this investigation.

The seventeenth fragment, from Asconius (p. 12, of Kiessling's edition), tells of the building, at public expense, of a house on the Capitol for Valerius Maximus, said by Plutarch, *Publicola* 20, who repeats this story, to have been the brother of Publicola. There are various opinions even in antiquity as to the person for whom this house, with its doors opening outward, was built, but Livy does not mention the matter, possibly because he had read in the oration of Cicero which Asconius annotated, in *Pisonem* 52, the statement that Cicero's house was the first one built at public expense by order of the senate for anyone.

It is also interesting to note that this is the only mention of a Valerius or reference to the existence of one in any fragment of Antias, particularly so in view of the fact that it is generally assumed and stated in modern writings about him that his work was practically a glorification of the Valerian gens, and that Plutarch drew nearly all the details of his *Publicola* from the history of Antias, whom, however, he neglects to mention either in the life itself or in the comparison of Themistocles and Publicola; a remarkable oversight under the circumstances, since even an ancient writer ought to be credited with a minimum of literary honor. As I do not wish to be misunderstood, I will say at this point that I consider it highly probable that Antias did dwell upon the glories of the Valerian gens in his history; there is, however, not the slightest evidence that he did so.

The eighteenth fragment, from Censorinus, *de die natali* 17, 8, states, on the authority of Antias, Varro, and other historians, that the *ludi saeculares* were celebrated every one hundredth year, and in 17, 9, Censorinus attributes to Livy 136 the statement that *ludi saeculares* were celebrated *centesimo quoque anno*. It does not necessarily follow that Livy drew his information from Antias, for this statement is connected with the account of the celebration of the games in the time of Augustus, games which Livy must have personally witnessed, and, as he must also have heard something about the discussion at that time as to the length of the saeculum, and have heard the famous poem of Horace which was sung on that occasion, it is hardly conceivable that he stated the length of the saeculum at one hundred years without some discus-



sion of the matter and without quoting the conflicting authorities. At any rate, we are not told that he got his information from Antias, and the obvious place from which to get it was the work of Varro, the acknowledged antiquarian authority of those times.

Fragment nineteen is from Livy 3, 5, 12, and contains a censure<sup>1</sup> of Antias for daring to state the number of killed and wounded in a battle between the Romans and the Aequians which was fought in the year 464 B.C.

Fragment twenty is again from Livy 4, 23, 2, and quotes Antias and Tubero as naming for the year 434 B.C. different consuls from those named by Macer. Livy himself wisely regards the facts as impossible to determine.

As we have now brought together all the positive evidence from Antias which bears upon matters treated by Livy in his first ten books, it may be worth while to stop and consider what, if anything, can be learned from it as to Livy's dependence on Antias in writing this portion of his history.<sup>2</sup> The material is, of course, very scanty, less than five pages of fragments, loosely quoted merely for their general contents, on which to base a judgment as to more than five hundred pages of Livy, but what evidence there is all points in one direction. Livy, who is

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<sup>1</sup> As Livy in this his first mention of Antias shows the same pronounced incredulity which is exhibited in the later portions of his history, it would seem necessary for those who believe that he followed Antias blindly in the earlier portions of the work and afterwards detected his error, to admit that the error was detected at this point, in which case the influence of Antias is hardly worth considering. After stating that the events under consideration are so remote that it is difficult to give, with any hope of being believed, the numbers of those who fought or were slain, Livy holds Antias up to ridicule not merely for daring to quote numbers, but particularly for trying to make them seem credible by making them exact, and for giving, instead of round four thousand killed, four thousand two hundred and thirty.

<sup>2</sup> I have purposely omitted a discussion of the numerous passages of Livy which are said by Soltau and others to be drawn from Antias. The only solid basis for such discussion is the fragments which are assigned to Antias, not by the conjecture of modern scholars, but by the direct statement of some ancient author, and it is only on condition that a considerable number of the preserved fragments of Antias show a close resemblance to Livy's statements that we are justified in assuming that Livy drew from Antias in other places where we have no evidence but conjecture for such assumption.



supposed to have depended on Antias for so much of his information, and particularly in these very books, has not a single statement which can be shown to have been taken from Antias; he often ignores fanciful tales and etymologies which are found in the fragments of Antias, but never by any chance agrees with him. The argument that Livy made free use of Antias and mentioned him only in case of disagreement is absolutely without foundation, for we have seen fourteen specific instances in which, although Livy does not mention him, he nevertheless disagrees with his statements as known to us from other sources, or absolutely disregards them, while there is no case of even approximate agreement. But, as has already been said, this is all the positive evidence on which to base an assertion, and it all confutes the accepted theory. It will not help matters to say that Livy got his material at second hand, for, with the exception of Dionysius, who was a contemporary of Livy, not a single writer from whom he could have drawn even mentions Antias in his preserved writings or fragments, and Dionysius mentions him but twice, once in an enumeration of the historians whose works were esteemed at Rome and once as authority for the derivation of the name *Celeres*. Even in case of agreement as to facts it is not safe to assume that either Dionysius or Livy copied from Antias unless it is expressly so stated. The earlier Annalists undoubtedly told many of the legends and stories which are attributed to Antias, and Antias himself did not invent all of his stories, but drew them from popular tradition or from the other Annalists, sources which were equally accessible to Dionysius and Livy.

Is it rank heresy to suppose that Livy was not under the necessity of copying from a book every idea or statement of fact in his history? Is it not, on the contrary, conceivable that he was familiar with most of the legends and, perhaps also, with many of the facts of Roman history from having heard them constantly repeated in school and in public speeches, just as we are familiar with the stories about George Washington and the battles of American history, and even in writing a popular history should draw largely on an accumulated store of uncopyrighted knowledge, never thinking of referring to a book or other authority for information? Livy undoubtedly had read the work of Antias and probably often consulted it while writing his history, but he was

obviously sceptical about many statements in it and did not blindly follow when in doubt.

Furthermore, the two histories differ to such an extent in the space accorded to the various events that it is inconceivable that Livy constructed his work on the ground-plan furnished by Antias. We know almost nothing about the ground-plan of the history of Antias, but what we do know is significant. At the beginning of his third book Antias is still writing about Numa (cf. Frag. 15), whereas Livy finished his account of Numa with the twenty-first chapter of the first book, and begins his third book with the events of the year 467 B.C. Events of the year 136 B.C. are recounted by Antias in book 22 (Gellius 6, 9, 12), but by Livy in book 55 (cf. Periocha), which shows that Livy passed rapidly over the legendary history of Rome in accordance with his plan announced in his preface, but when he came to the authentic history wrote at much greater length than did Antias. He can not therefore have depended for his outline on Antias. The actual framework on which Livy constructed his history, namely, the years of the state, is so obvious that it seems almost insolent to charge him with the necessity of borrowing it from anyone. The very name, Annalist, implies this method of procedure, and practically every historian of Rome either before or after Livy followed this plan.

In the remaining fragments of Antias the same lack of agreement with the corresponding portions of Livy may be observed, but thirty of the forty-five fragments are taken from Livy, and seven of the remaining fifteen are quotations of grammatical peculiarities, which either can not be connected with known historical events or contain so little matter that no inference can be drawn from them.

In fragment twenty-one, from Gellius 3, 8, is preserved an account of the proposal made to Fabricius by Timochares to poison Pyrrhus. When the facts were laid before the senate by Fabricius we are told that the senate sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus instructing them not to betray Timochares, but to warn Pyrrhus to be on his guard against his immediate attendants. The corresponding portion of Livy is lost, but in the Periocha to book 13 the story is given as follows: *Cum C. Fabricio consuli is, qui ad eum a Pyrrho transfugerat, polliceretur, venenum se regi daturum, cum indicio ad regem remissus est*, a story

differing in its most essential features from that of Antias.<sup>1</sup> In 24, 45, 3, and in 42, 47, 6, Livy is obviously referring to the account which he has already given, and, if in 39, 51, 11, he refers to the other account, it is clearly not because he adopts it, but because it makes a more specious argument in the mouth of king Prusias. It is not, however, absolutely necessary to assume that Livy is here giving the version of Antias.

In the twenty-second fragment, from Censorinus 17, 10, we learn that Antias and Livy agree as to the date of the third *ludi saeculares*, which, however, does not necessarily imply that Livy got his information from Antias.

In the twenty-third fragment, from Livy 25, 39, 14, after a long account of the storming of two Carthaginian camps by Lucius Marcius, including the statement of Claudius that thirty-seven thousand were killed and one thousand eight hundred and thirty captured, Livy adds that Antias says only one camp, that of Mago, was stormed with a loss of seven thousand men, while in another battle with Hasdrubal, in a rush from the camp ten thousand were killed and four thousand three hundred and thirty taken prisoners, after which follows: *verae gloriae eius etiam miracula addunt, flammam ei contionanti fusam e capite sine ipsius sensu cum magno pavore circumstantium militum*, a story which is attributed to Antias by Pliny, *N. H.* 2, 241. The words *verae gloriae* show clearly how little credence Livy placed in this legend.

Fragment twenty-four, from Livy 26, 49, 1, is a long list of conflicting statements about the details of the capture of New Carthage. Included in it are two statements by Antias, one to the effect that, whereas Silenus, a Greek historian, gives the number of captured *scorpiones* large and small as sixty, Antias reports six thousand large and thirteen thousand small. Livy's comment is: *adeo nullus mentiendi modus est*. The other statement is that Arines was in command of the Carthaginian garrison and was surrendered to the Romans, whereas Livy gives the name of the commander as Mago (cf. Chap. 46).

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<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen*, II, p. 500, note, argues that Valerius Maximus 6, 5, 1, who gives the story as told by Antias, must have taken it from Livy, though why he could not get it directly from Antias, whose work was certainly used by Pliny in his *Natural History* and by Gellius, is not conspicuously evident.



In fragment twenty-five, from Gellius 7, 8, 6, Antias is quoted as sole authority for the statement that Scipio, instead of returning the beautiful Spanish captive to her father, kept her as his mistress. Livy 26, 50, not only gives the traditional account, but does not even hint at any other version of the story, although he mentions Antias twice in the next preceding chapter.

Fragment twenty-six, from Livy 28, 46, 14, contains conflicting statements as to the lading of some eighty Carthaginian ships of burden captured near Sardinia by Gnaeus Octavius. Coelius says that they were laden with grain and supplies for Hannibal, Antias that they were bearing to Carthage booty from Etruria and captive Ligurians and Montani. Livy does not attempt to decide the matter, but only mentions the conflicting reports.

In fragment twenty-seven, from Livy 29, 35, 2, after telling of two cavalry battles near the city Salaeca in each of which a general named Hanno was killed, Livy adds that not all authors are agreed on this point, and that Coelius and Antias say that Hanno was captured. He does not, however, retract his own story, and apparently only gives the other accounts in order to show his fairness.

The next two fragments are particularly significant; Livy 30, 3, 6, *Haec per nuntios acta magis equidem crediderim (et ita pars maior auctores sunt) quam ipsum Syphacem, ut Antias Valerius prodit, in castra Romana ad conloquium venisse.* Livy 30, 19, 11, *Valerius Antias quinque milia hostium caesa ait. Quae tanta res est, ut aut impudenter ficta sit aut neglegenter praetermissa. Nihil certe ultra rei in Italia ab Hannibale gestum.* Livy certainly is not putting too much faith in Antias here nor in 30, 29, 7, where he says that Antias introduces, before the battle of Zama, a battle otherwise unknown, in which Hannibal was defeated by Scipio with a loss of twelve thousand killed and seventeen hundred captured, after which, with ten other ambassadors, he came to the camp of Scipio.

In fragment thirty-one, from Livy 32, 6, 5, Antias is quoted as describing military operations of the consul P. Villius Tappulus in Epirus in 199 B.C. Villius is said to have built a bridge over the Aous, to have led his soldiers across and to have fought a battle with the enemy in which he drove them from their camp, killed twelve thousand, took twelve hundred prisoners, one hundred and thirty-two standards, and



two hundred and thirty horses. To all of which Livy says: *Ceteri Graeci Latinique auctores, quorum quidem ego legi annales, nihil memorabile a Villio actum integrumque bellum insequentem consulem T. Quinctium accepisse tradunt.* In chapter 9, 6, where Livy resumes the thread of his history, it is clear that he rejects the account of Antias.

In fragment thirty-two, from Livy 33, 10, 8, Livy, who in the preceding section, following Polybius as he himself says, has given the losses of the enemy in the battle of Cynoscephalae (197 B.C.) as eight thousand killed and five thousand captured, the Roman losses as about seven hundred killed, adds: *Si Valerio qui credat, omnium rerum inmodice numerum augenti, quadraginta milia hostium eo die sunt caesa, capta (ibi modestius mendacium est) quinque milia septingenti, signa militaria ducenta undequinguenta.*

The thirty-third fragment is also drawn from Livy, who in 33, 30, after giving, chiefly on the authority of Polybius, the details of the peace with Philip, notes some variations and additions in the account of Antias. According to Livy the indemnity was one thousand talents, half to be paid at once and half in ten annual instalments, while Antias mentions only four thousand pounds of silver to be paid annually for ten years, and adds to the terms certain concessions which were to be made to Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Athenians. As Livy has already told of the death of Attalus in chapter 21, and can hardly have forgotten this circumstance in so short a time as would be required for writing nine chapters, it is obvious that he does not accept this part of Antias' story.

In fragment thirty-four, from Livy 33, 36, Peter has included an extended account of the operations of M. Claudius Marcellus against the Boii and the Insubres in 196 B.C., which is assumed to have been taken from Antias, because in section 13 the losses of the battle are stated as follows: *In eo proelio supra quadraginta milia hominum caesa Valerius Antias scribit, octingenta septem signa militaria capta et carpenta septingenta triginta duo et aureos torques multos, ex quibus unum magni ponderis Claudius in Capitolio Iovi donum in aede positum scribit.* It is, of course, possible and perhaps probable that Livy did draw his account from Antias, but he certainly had also one other source, Claudius, and the natural inference from the words, *id quoque inter scriptores ambigitur*, in section 15, is that he had still other sources,

and not that these words refer only to Antias and Claudius, while the fact that he quotes authority for these incredible figures might be taken as evidence of incredulity on his part. At any rate there is at most a presumption, not a proof, that Antias is the source of Livy's account.

In fragment thirty-five, from Livy 34, 10, Antias is quoted for the statement that M. Helvius, while leaving further Spain with a guard of six thousand troops, falling in with a body of twenty thousand Celtiberi, killed twelve thousand of them, took the town of Iliturgi, and put to death all the adults. Although Livy makes no comment on these figures, it certainly seems natural that a historian who tells of a battle in which the losses of the vanquished were double the number of the victors engaged in the contest, should give some authority for his statement, and it is noteworthy that Antias is here quoted merely as authority for the numbers.

In fragment thirty-six, from Livy 34, 15, 9, Antias is reported as saying that in a battle near Emporiae, fought by Cato in the year 195 B.C., forty thousand of the enemy were slain. Livy's comment is: *Cato ipse, haud sane detractor laudum suarum, multos caesos ait, numerum non adscribit.*

In fragment thirty-seven, from Asconius in Cic. *Cornelianam* (p. 61 K.), Antias is quoted as authority for the statement that at the ludi Romani, given by the curule aediles during the second consulship of Scipio Africanus (194 B.C.), the aediles, by order of the censors, assigned to the senators seats apart from those of the people, Asconius adding: *et videtur in hac quidem oratione hunc auctorem secutus Cicero dixisse passum esse Scipionem secerni a cetero consessu spectacula senatorum. In ea autem, quam post aliquot annos habuit de haruspicum responso (24), non passum esse Scipionem, sed (ipsum) auctorem fuisse dandi eum locum senatoribus videtur significare.* The passage in Cicero further assigns this innovation to the Megalesia and not to the ludi Romani, showing conclusively that Cicero is here following a different tradition, which also appears in Valerius Maximus 2, 4, 3. Livy, who refers twice to this innovation, in both cases gives the occasion as the ludi Romani, but in 34, 44, 5, says that it was ordered by the censors, and in 34, 54, 8, gives a rumor that Scipio himself was the author of the change. In all of the accounts the same censors and the same curule aediles are named, which shows that there was no difference of

opinion as to the year. Apparently either the censors or the consuls had the authority to make the change (cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 478, note 2), but it is highly improbable that both colleges of officers had a hand in it. Whether Scipio as consul permitted the change or actually directed it, is of comparatively little importance; the event itself must have made a great stir at Rome, and have played a considerable rôle in politics, as appears from the further account in Asconius and from Livy 34, 54, 3 ff.; and while Livy may have been indebted to Antias for the whole story, he may equally well have heard it in several versions at school and in public speeches, to say nothing of the possibility of his having read it in his favorite author, Cicero, in two different versions. It seems incredible that he should have copied the story from any author. That he gives the ludi Romani and not the Megalesia as the occasion of the change may possibly be due to the greater importance of the former at the time when the change was made.

Fragment thirty-eight is from Livy 35, 2, 8. After telling of the efforts of the praetor C. Flaminius to secure a special body of picked troops for his campaign in Spain and of the refusal of the senate to grant this request, Livy says that the senate expressed its pleasure that *tumultuarii milites* should be enrolled outside of Italy for this purpose, and that Antias writes that Flaminius sailed to Sicily to hold the levy, and, sailing from there to Spain, was driven by storm to Africa, where he enlisted stragglers from the army of P. Africanus and added to these two levies a third in Spain. Livy apparently did not wish to leave unmentioned so remarkable<sup>1</sup> an action as this, but felt the necessity of naming the source from which his account of it was drawn.

In fragment thirty-nine Livy, who, in 36, 19, 10, has given, on the authority of Polybius, an account of the misfortunes of king Antiochus in his flight after the battle of Thermopylae, adds: *Quid si Antiati Valerio credamus sexaginta milia militum fuisse in regio exercitu scribenti, quadraginta inde milia cecidisse, supra quinque milia capta cum signis militaribus ducentis triginta? Romanorum centum quinquaginta*

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<sup>1</sup> Nissen, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, p. 166. Es klingt in Wirklichkeit sehr fabelhaft dass der Praetor ohne Erlaubniss des Senats in Sicilien und Africa Aushebungen anstellt und gar Soldaten aus dem Heer des Scipio Africanus, die 8 Jahre dort herumvagabondirt haben sollen, den Fahneneid schwören lässt.



*in ipso certamine pugnae, ab incursu Aetolorum se tuentes non plus quinquaginta interfecti sunt.*

In fragment forty, from Livy 36, 36, 4, Antias is quoted as authority for the statement that, on the completion of the temple of Magna Mater in 191 B.C., *ludi ob dedicationem eius facti, quos primos scaenicos fuisse . . . , Megalesia appellatos*, evidently because Livy 7, 2, 3, had told of the introduction of *ludi scaenici* in 364 B.C., and in 34, 54, 3, of their forming a part of the Megalesia in 194 B.C.

In fragment forty-one, from Livy 36, 38, 6, after quoting Antias to the effect that in a battle fought by P. Cornelius with the Boii, twenty-eight thousand of the enemy were killed, three thousand four hundred taken captive, one hundred and twenty-four standards taken, twelve hundred and thirty horses and two hundred and forty-seven wagons captured, with a loss to the victors of one thousand four hundred and eighty-four, Livy adds: *Vbi ut in numero scriptori parum fidei sit, quia in augendo eo non alius intemperatior est, magnam tamen victoriam fuisse adparet, quod et castra capta sunt et Boii post eam pugnam extemplo dediderunt sese, et quod supplicatio eius victoriae causa decreta ab senatu victimaeque maiores caesae*, facts which he apparently obtained from some more trustworthy source.

Again in fragment forty-two, Livy 37, 48, quotes from Antias a very improbable story of a rumor at Rome about the capture of L. Scipio and P. Africanus by the treachery of king Antiochus, and subsequent dire results to the Romans, showing his incredulity by adding: *Rumoris huius quia neminem alium auctorem habeo, neque adfirmata res mea opinione sit nec pro vana praetermissa.*

Fragment forty-three, from Livy 37, 60, 6, is also quoted because Antias has told a story at variance with Livy's, which Nissen, p. 201, attributes to Polybius. After describing an attempt of Q. Fabius Labeo to overawe the Cretans and induce them by mere bravado to give up the Roman and Italian captives whom they were holding as slaves, and stating that the Cretans were only slightly disturbed by this proceeding, Livy quotes the conflicting statement of Antias that four thousand captives were returned because the Cretans were frightened by the threats of war, and that this fact led to the granting by the senate of a naval triumph to Labeo.



Fragment forty-four is from Livy 38, 23, 6. Livy, having remarked the difficulty of giving trustworthy numbers of the Gallic losses in the battle of Cn. Manlius with the Gauls on Mt. Olympus in 189 B.C., adds that Claudius, who says that there were two battles on the mountain, gives the losses as forty thousand, while Valerius Antias (*qui magis immodicus in numero augendo esse solet*) says not more than ten thousand.

What is designated as fragment forty-five is the long account of the famous trial of Scipio Africanus and his brother Lucius, told by Livy in book 38, 50, 4 ff., in which Antias is twice cited as authority. As the whole history of this case has been repeatedly investigated, notably by Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen*, II, p. 417 ff., it will not be necessary to examine it in detail here. There is very little doubt that Livy has here taken his account from Antias, for some details of the story which are found in Livy, though not definitely ascribed by him to Antias, are so ascribed by other writers, and the whole account in Livy has the appearance of continuity and unity, but there is equally little doubt that Livy was suspicious of the trustworthiness of his authority. In chapter 55, 8, he interrupts his narrative to express his doubts of certain figures given by Antias, and proceeds in the next two chapters to tell of the mass of conflicting material with which it was necessary to deal in this portion of his history, conscientiously giving all the points as to which there were divergent statements, but without naming the conflicting authorities. It is evident that he had to consider not merely two, but many different versions, as was to be expected in the case of a tale which must have been so often told and so often referred to. He found disagreement as to the accuser, the time of the trial, and even the year in which Scipio died and the place of his burial. The speeches attributed to Scipio and Gracchus were inconsistent and of doubtful authenticity, the speech of Scipio not according even with the index or title attached to it, and although he does not say so he may have been familiar with the passages in his favorite author, Cicero, which are cited by Mommsen to disprove the genuineness of these orations. Inasmuch as Livy continues, after mentioning all of these divergencies, to tell the story as recorded by Antias, I am strongly of the opinion that his was the only continuous and in any degree consistent account of the trial,

and that Livy, wishing to include the story in his history, gave the best obtainable version of it.

Mommsen's detailed account of the trial is almost certainly the correct one, but it is highly improbable that any ancient historian gave so clear an account as he has done, and it is noteworthy that practically all of the material on which Mommsen founded his account is derived from Livy, in whose collected material every main fact is found, while only slight variations in minor details can be added from other authorities. Livy, in fact, seems to have been unable to utilize the material he had himself collected. Time enough had elapsed since the events themselves to make the popular versions mere fairy tales of no value for historical purposes, and trustworthy historical versions of the trial apparently did not exist. Livy despaired of finding a clue to the hopeless tangle and chose, though with apparent reluctance, the account of Antias, adding such conflicting details as seemed necessary to indicate his desire to tell the truth, but the impossibility of so doing.

A precisely similar state of affairs will confront the historian who attempts to write the history of the naval events of the war with Spain in 1898, and even with all the official documents before him, it will be remarkable if he does not prove himself a modern Antias or, at least, follow the account of some modern Antias.

Livy returns to the discussion of this case in 39, 52, 1, where he considers the conflicting statements about the date of the death of Scipio Africanus, who, according to Polybius and Rutilius, died in 183 B.C., according to Antias, in 187 B.C. Livy rejects both dates and gives also his reasons for so doing. The objections to the date given by Polybius and Rutilius are answered by Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.*, II, p. 483 ff., who accepts the date 183 B.C. Livy apparently believes that Scipio died in 185 B.C. (a date assigned to this event in Cicero, *de Senectute* 19, where Cato is represented as saying that Scipio died the year before his censorship and nine years after his first consulship), and may have followed Cicero, although he does not mention him.

Fragment forty-six, from Livy 39, 22, 8, is also closely connected with this same trial. In it, under the year 186 B.C., Livy tells of the celebration by Scipio Asiaticus of the games vowed by him during the war with Antiochus. Consistently with the account of the trial which he had drawn from Antias he now represents Scipio as impoverished

and giving the games with money contributed<sup>1</sup> for that purpose by kings and cities of Asia, to which country he had been sent to settle the disputes between Antiochus and Eumenes. That Livy is here following Antias is clear from his own statement and also from the fact that according to the other version of the trial Scipio Asiaticus had not yet been tried. Livy must, therefore, either reject his previous account of the trial or follow Antias here also.

In fragment forty-seven, from Livy 39, 41, 6, in commenting on the statement that the praetor Q. Naevius was detained four months at Rome to try poisoning cases, Livy expresses incredulity of the number of condemnations by saying: *Si Antiati Valerio credere libet, ad duo milia hominum damnavit.*

Fragment forty-eight, from Livy 39, 43, 1, gives the famous story of the expulsion from the senate, by Cato, of L. Quinctius Flamininus. Livy, in the preceding chapter, has told the story on the basis of the oration delivered by Cato, and charges that Antias has not read this oration, but has simply repeated an anonymous tale. Antias tells the traditional story, but makes the favorite of Flamininus a woman invited by him to a banquet. In this detail he is followed by Val. Max. 2, 9, 3, and Plutarch, *Flamininus* 18, 4, gives it as a variant version of Antias. The word scortum used in his account by Cicero, *de Senectute* 42, is also the word used by Cato, and there is no means of determining whether Cicero, in this detail, is following Antias or Cato. Livy certainly does not follow Antias, and, in opposition to all other accounts, says that the person executed was a Gaulish deserter and that Flamininus killed him with his own hand.

In fragment forty-nine, from Livy 39, 56, 7, the authority of Antias is quoted for the year of Hannibal's death, apparently from confusion, since Livy has already recorded the event in chapter 51, 7, and now, referring to Antias, is under the impression that Antias gives a different year from the one he has himself given. This oversight makes it evident that Livy did not use Antias as his authority for the account of Hannibal's death.

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<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *N. H.* 33, 138, tells a similar tale about these games with the slight variation that the Roman people contribute the funds for their celebration, showing that Antias was not alone in thinking Asiaticus reduced to poverty and therefore already condemned in 186 B.C., for Pliny can not have taken his account from Antias.



In fragment fifty, Livy 41, 27, 2, quotes Antias as authority for the statement that L. Fulvius, who was expelled from the senate by the censors in 174 B.C., was not only own brother to one of the censors but also his *consors*, a statement which appears also in Velleius 1, 10, and in Valerius Maximus 2, 7, 5, perhaps in each instance from Antias. To Livy apparently the statement seems so remarkable that it deserves mention, but as Antias alone is authority for it he names him.

In fragment fifty-one, from Livy 42, 11, 1, after quoting the report of Antias that Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, came as an ambassador to Rome in the year 172 B.C., Livy adds: *Plurimum annales et quibus credidisse malis, ipsum Eumenem venisse tradunt.*

In fragment fifty-two, from Livy 44, 13, 12, are mentioned a number of details in which the account of Antias is directly opposed to that of Livy. In chapters 1 to 13 of this book is contained the history of the campaign in Greece of the year 169 B.C., and in now noting the variants introduced by Antias, who disagrees with him on nearly every point, he shows what remarkable historical originality the latter possesses. According to Nissen, p. 260, the one item of truth in the account of Antias is the statement that the Romans were suspicious of Eumenes.

In fragment fifty-three, from Livy 45, 40, 1, Antias is reported as stating the amount of gold and silver carried in the triumph of Paulus as 120,000,000 sesterces, Livy remarking that the detailed account of wagons and pounds of gold and silver mentioned by Antias himself implies a considerably larger sum than that mentioned. Velleius 1, 9, 6, gives the amount as *bis miliens centiens sestertium*, and it has been conjectured that Livy must have had a faulty copy of Antias, in which MCC was written for MMC (a surprising bit of conjectural emendation).

Fragment fifty-four, from Livy 45, 43, 8, contains the statement of Antias that 20,000,000 sesterces were derived from the Illyrian booty of Lucius Anicius in 167 B.C., with Livy's comment: *quod quia unde redigi potuerit, non apparebat, auctorem pro re posui.*

Fragment fifty-five, from Censorinus 17, 11, merely records the fact that Antias, Varro, and Livy are in accord in assigning the date of the fourth ludi saeculares. It does not, of course, follow that Livy copied from Antias, and it is natural to suppose that here, if anywhere, he consulted Varro.



In fragment fifty-six, from Orosius 5, 3, Antias is quoted as authority for a battle of the praetor Metellus in Achaia, in which twenty thousand of the Achaei and their general, Diaeus, were slain. Orosius is known to have drawn extensively on Livy for material, and may, of course, here be indebted to him, but the corresponding portion of Livy is lost, and in the Periocha to book 52, the battle with Diaeus is said to have been fought at the Isthmus and by the consul L. Mummius, while nothing is said about the death of Diaeus, nor are the losses of the Achaei stated. If the Periocha can be depended on, Livy here is not following any of the authorities mentioned by Orosius, who quotes Claudius for two battles, one at Thermopylae with Achaean loss of twenty thousand, and one in Phocis with loss of seven thousand, Valerius Antias for one battle in Achaia with loss of twenty thousand and the leader Diaeus, and Polybius for one battle in Achaia with Critolaus (loss not stated), fought by Metellus, who followed up this success by the defeat of Diaeus and the destruction of the army with which he was advancing from Arcadia. At any rate there is an utter lack of evidence that Livy followed Antias, or rather there is positive proof that he did not do so.

Of the remaining fragments but one is of any value for this investigation. Fragments fifty-seven to sixty-two and sixty-five are quoted for peculiarities of grammar and either can not be connected with any known historical event, or are incomplete sentences from which no information can be drawn. Fragment sixty-four, from Pliny, *N. H.* 34, 14, quotes from Antias the statement that the heirs of L. Crassus, the orator, sold many bronze triclinia.

Fragment sixty-three, from Orosius 5, 16, 1, gives an account of the campaign of the year 105 B.C. against the Cimbri and Teutones, and of the disgraceful defeat of the Romans at Arausio, stating the Roman losses, on the authority of Antias, as eighty thousand killed, including socii, and forty thousand sutlers and camp-followers. The Periocha to Livy 67 makes practically the same statement both as to the campaign and the losses, though if Livy accepts these figures from Antias without comment it is to be noted that this is the first occasion on which he has done so. The word *siquidem* with which Orosius introduces his quotation from Antias is wonderfully suggestive, particularly as he is believed to have taken this account from Livy and may have found that Livy had already filed this *caveat*.

We have now before us all the positive evidence existing as to the use of Antias by Livy; every statement that can be unquestionably attributed to Antias has been passed in review, and when not derived from Livy himself, compared either with the corresponding statement of Livy or with what could be learned as to his statement from the Periochae or other sources. It is, of course, almost certain that there are many more fragments of Antias concealed in Livy and in other writers, but it is only by inference that they can be identified, and there is so little unimpeachable material as a basis for such inference that it is extremely hazardous to assume with regard to any statement that it is derived from Antias. The annalists were not modern historians, and not one of them is absolutely free from the faults attributed to Antias. That any of them, even Antias, deliberately falsified history is extremely improbable, but they were nearly all strong partisans, and of two conflicting stories it was most natural for them to choose the one which was most flattering to the Romans, or even to their own political party, and, as the principle of historical writing even in the time of Quintilian was stated to be that history was closely akin to poetry and was written to tell a story, not to prove it, we may safely assume that all writers were prone to choose the account which was most interesting and which required the least work in verification. Livy cites at least a dozen annalists, presumably at first hand, for it is the almost universal opinion that he tried to tell the truth, and, therefore, to assume that any outrageously improbable tale must have been taken from a particular annalist is, in the absence of other evidence, to beg the whole question. Everything goes to show that Livy was remarkably conservative for his time, and that he accepted, in general, only such accounts as to which there was pretty fair agreement, giving his authority only in case he departed from the commonly accepted accounts or when he quoted some tale at variance with his own account.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The view that Livy used only one source at a time, copying at length from it and occasionally referring to another source, is inconsistent with his own statements and also with all that we know about the methods of Roman writers. Statements such as: *plurium annales et quibus credidisse malis; non omnes auctores sunt; ceteri Graeci Latinique auctores, quorum quidem ego legi annales; plerique*; and many similar expressions, can not, if one believes Livy to have had any regard for the truth, be taken to mean either that Livy means one additional authority or that he only referred

For Valerius Antias, in particular, he seems to have had the greatest possible distrust, constantly dwelling on his untrustworthiness, and even where he follows him, in the story of the trial of Scipio, later introducing evidence which nullifies all that has been told on the sole authority of Antias. In all that is preserved in Livy we find an utter lack of agreement in practically every instance, and further that Livy has quoted him only to show his untrustworthiness and his own incredulity. When Censorinus states that Livy and Antias agree on the dates of the *ludi saeculares*, he nowhere says that Livy got his information from Antias, nor is there any good reason for supposing that he did, particularly in a matter of archaeology where the obvious source of information was Varro. Wherever it is possible to compare an account in Livy for which he gives no authority with the corresponding account of Antias as preserved in some other author, Greek or Roman, such divergencies are found as make it almost certain that Livy was unfamiliar with the account of Antias or ignored it, and it will be observed that nearly every statement of Antias can be thus compared. Fond, for example, as Livy was of popular etymologies, he does not mention those of Capitolium, Celeres, and Ancus which are credited to Antias, though it is hardly conceivable that they were unknown to him.

Thirty-three of the sixty-five fragments of Antias are due to mention of him by Livy, nine of the remaining fragments are quoted merely for grammatical peculiarities and can not be used for our purposes, leaving but twenty-three to be considered. In ten instances Livy has ignored the statements of Antias, in seven he has given a different account, in one instance the account as given in the *Periocha* agrees with that of Antias, in three instances relating to the *ludi saeculares* there is agreement with Antias, but also with Varro, and as to two fragments it is impossible to decide.

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to these authors without having read their works. My own idea of Livy's method has already been anticipated by H. A. Sanders, in his dissertation, *Die Quellencontamination im 21. und 22. Buche des Livius*, Berlin, 1897, namely, that his work was based on a large collection of notes and excerpts which he combined as best he could into a continuous history, telling in his own language what he conceived to be the truth, and quoting divergencies from his account whenever it seemed to him important to do so. There is, of course, no positive proof that Livy worked in this manner, but as this was certainly the usual practice of his time, it is a natural assumption that he followed it.

Of the thirty-three fragments which are due to Livy six express the strongest disagreement with the statements of Antias, eleven are criticisms of exorbitant numbers coupled with such statements as: *audet tamen Antias Valerius concipere summas; adeo nullus mentiendi modus est; si Valerio qui credat omnium rerum inmodice numerum augenti; ibi modestius mendacium est*; ten are quotations of statements in Antias at variance with Livy's own statements, in three, statements are made, hesitatingly, on the sole authority of Antias, in one, two conflicting accounts are given with no opinion stated as to the merits of either, and in two, relating to the trial of Scipio, there is complete agreement, although Livy later introduces evidence which disproves his own story as taken from Antias.

It is on such evidence as this that we are asked to believe that Antias was the source of considerable portions of Livy's history and that Livy followed blindly, at least in the earlier part of his work.



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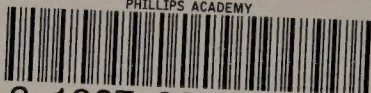
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